

A N
Historical DISSERTATION
O N
Idolatrous Corruptions
I N
RELIGION
From the
Beginning of the World;
A N D
On the Methods taken by Divine
Providence to Reform them.

In the Course whereof the DIVINE ORIGIN
of the LAW of MOSES, is proved,
against the Objections of such as have
thought that Law deducible from the *Rites*
and *Customs* of the *Egyptians* and other
Gentiles.

And in which divers CAVILS of the DEISTS
against REVELATION are occasionally
considered.

VOL. II.

L O N D O N:

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AN
HISTORICAL DISSERTATION
ON
IDOLATROUS CORRUPTIONS
IN
RELIGION

Beginning of the World;

On the History of the
Prophets



In the year of our Lord 1753
of the Age of 40 years
being the 10th year of the
reign of King George the Third
and of the 1st year of the
reign of King George the Fourth

And in the year of our Lord 1753
of the Age of 40 years
being the 10th year of the
reign of King George the Third
and of the 1st year of the
reign of King George the Fourth

Printed by J. Johnson, in Pall-mal
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City of London.



To the Right Honourable

Arthur Onflow, *Esq*;

Speaker of the House of Commons,

Chancellor to the Queen,

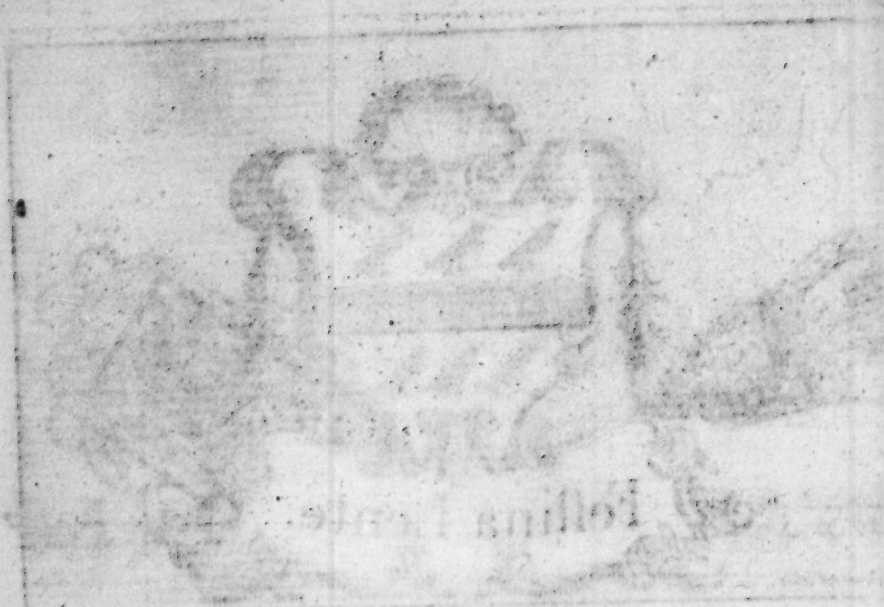
And one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

This Volume is inscribed,

By his most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

Arthur Young.



To the Right Honourable

Arthur O'Sullivan, Esq.

Speaker of the House of Commons

Chancellor to the Queen

And one of his Majesty's most Hon.
noble Privy Council

This Volume is inscribed

By his most Obedient

Humble Servant

Arthur Young



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REVELATION

Design'd to prevent
SUPERSTITION.

CHAP. I.

That notwithstanding the ceremonial Law of the Jews was instituted in Opposition to Idolatry, they frequently fell into it. The Idolatrys they corrupted themselves with, before the Division of the Tribes into the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Baal-Peor. Micah's Idolatry. Teraphim. The Groves. Gideon's Ephod. Baal-Berith. The Witch of Endor. Molech. Ashteroth. Dagon. Chemosh.



NE would have thought, that the giving the Jews such a Body of Laws, as we have seen in the former Volume the Levitical to be, should have been a sufficient Barrier and Defence to
VOL. II. B them,

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them, from any Attack from the Quarter of Idolatry: that such a Constitution, if it had not produc'd an intire Separation of the *Jewish* Nation from all others, should, at least, have prevented such an Intercourse with Strangers, as should have made them either dislike their own Customs, or desirous of exchanging them for others; and that, after that perverse and stiff-necked Generation, which, tho it had been supported by a continual Series of Miracles in a barren and desolate Wilderness, mutinied against God and against *Moses*, had been wholly extinct, that which had succeeded should have been sufficiently warn'd, and in no Danger of falling into Idolatry. But the quite contrary appears. 'Tis true, they were not Inventors in Matters of Religion, had no Gods peculiar to themselves; but in their Idolatry imitated, as has been observed *, the Superstition of other People. In *Egypt* they ador'd the Gods of that Country; and soon after they left it, renewed the Worship of the *Apis*, by making a *Golden Calf*; which we shall hereafter have an Occasion to speak of: And afterwards in the Wilderness and promised Land, fell into

* *Calmer.*

the

prevent Superstition.

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the Worship of the Gods of the People, who were round about them.

THE *Moabites* and *Midianites*, being afraid of them, sent for *Balaam* a famous Soothsayer, out of *Mesopotamia*, promising him a very great Reward, if he would curse them. But he being forc'd, by the Spirit of God, instead of cursing, to bless them altogether, and to foretel the Felicity which attended them, and the Calamitys which would befall their Enemys, and so dismiss'd without the Honour and Reward he had been promised; when he " * came to the *Euphrates*, bethought himself, and sent " back to speak with *Balack* and the " Princes of *Midian*, and tho he would " not curse, would advise: Send into their " Camp, says he, a Procession of the loveliest Virgins you can pick out; dress " them up with all the Ornaments of " Art to assist Nature; give them their " Lessons how to behave upon all Occasions of Courtship and Amour. If the " young Men shall make Love, and proceed to any wanton Importunitys, let " them threaten immediately and peremptorily to be gone, unless they will

* Joseph. Antiq. l. iv. c. 6.

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“ actually renounce their Country's Laws,
 “ and the Honour of that God who pre-
 “ scribed them ; and finally engage them-
 “ selves to worship after the Manner of
 “ the *Moabites* and *Midianites*. This, says
 “ he, will provoke God, and call down
 “ Vengeance on their Heads.” The
 Counsel of this Wizard was followed,
 and succeeded to Admiration. The *Is-
 raelites* were charmed with their Con-
 versation and Beauty ; and being blinded
 with their Passions, abandon'd themselves
 to their Pleasures: it was not long before
 they renounced their Religion and Laws,
 * *committed Whoredom with the Daughters*
of Moab, ate of their Sacrifices, bowed
down to their Gods, and joined themselves
unto Baal-Peor. The *Jewish Doctors* tell
 us, that when the Ladys saw they had
 their Gallants sure in their Toils, they
 pull'd out little Images of *Peor*, which
 they presented to them to kiss, and desired
 them to eat of the Sacrifices which had
 been offer'd to them.

THE old Generation of idolatrous *Is-
 rael* being utterly gone ; the new Genera-
 tion, which was to enter *Canaan*, began,

* Numb. xxv. 1, 2, 3.

prevent Superstition. §

after their Fathers, with such Courses as these.

B A A L-Peor was the chief God of the Country. The Name of *Baal*, together with that of *Molech*, seems to have been generally given to the chief Deity of *Palestine*, *Phœnicia*, and the neighbouring Countrys. *Baal*, or *Belus*, as it is in the *Phœnician* Dialect, or *Bel*, as it is in the *Babylonian Chaldee*, signifies a *Lord* or *King*, and is frequently translated by the *LXX*, by ἀρχων or βασιλευς. It was given to the true God, till he forbid it, because it had been profan'd by being so often given to Idols. This is plain from *Hosea* *, *It shall be at that Day, says the Lord, thou shalt call me Ishi, that is, my Husband; and shall call me no more Baali, that is, your Baal* †.

B A A L was so proper a Name for the true God, that *Apuleius* has treated || of it. And some Word or other of the same Signification, as *Milcom*, *Adonis*, &c. is used by the *Greeks*, *Hebrews* and *Arabs*. The same meaning has the *Latin* Word for God, *Deus*. "Our Countryman Po-

* *Hosea* iv. 16.

† See *Drusii Observ. Sac. l. x. c. 22.*

|| *Apologia.*

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“cock, as Mr. *Whiston* tells us †, deduces
 “it from the *Arabic* Word *Du*, (and in
 “the oblique Case, *Di*) which signifies
 “*Lord*. And in this Sense, Princes are
 “called *Gods*, *Pf.* lxxxii. 6. And *Moses* is
 “called the *God* of his Brother *Aaron*,
 “and the *God* of *King Pharaoh*, *Ex.* iv.
 “16. and vii. 1. And in the same Sense,
 “says he, the Souls of dead Princes were
 “called, of old, *Gods* by the Gentiles,
 “but falsely, on account of their Want
 “of Dominion.”

WORSHIPING, as I have already taken
 Notice, the true God at the Graves and
 Monuments of their great Personages;
 when they came to canonize and rank
 them amongst their Gods, they gave them
 the same Names or Titles *, as they had
 before

† *Sir Isaac Newton's Corollaries.*

Baal was not the only Name belonging to the true
 God, which the Heathens gave their Idols; there was an-
 other which was no less proper to him, or was rather one of
 his Attributes: we meet with it, *Is.* lxvi. 17. *They that*
sanctify themselves, and purify themselves behind one Tree in
the midst. The Word *Tree*, not being to be found in the
Hebrew, is printed in our Bibles in *Belick* Characters;
 which has made the Generality of Interpreters render the
 Words, *behind one in the midst, one after another.* But I
 rather prefer *Scaliger's* Interpretation, who supposes the Word
Temple or *Chapel*, to be understood, and that the Passage is
 to be rendred *behind the Chapel or Shrine of the God AHEAD*
 that is, *One.* We meet with this God in *Macrobius* (*Sat.*

before given the true: As the first Converts to Christianity gave the true God the Titles, which, before their Conversion, they had given the Heathen *Jupiter*; as appears from that Epitaph on *Aurelius Balbus* in *Gruter* *, *Jovis optimi maximi Beneficio, hic in spe Resurrectionis quiescit*, and from others to the same Purpose: and addressed themselves to the true God, as they had before done to *Jupiter*; as appears by that Form of Prayer, *Kyrie Eleeson, Lord have Mercy upon us*, which has been so long used in the Christian Church, and was antiently Part of the Pagan † Litany. The Heathens having thus given the Title of *Baal*, to their great Ancestor *Ham*, the first Person they

l. i. c. 23) They, says he, speaking of the *Affyrians*, give to their chief and principal God, the Name *Adad*, which signifies ONE; him they worship as the God of the greatest Power. Mr. *Selden* (See *Synt.* i. c. 6.) tells us, that *Macrobius* is mistaken, or the Text depraved, when he says that *Adad* signifies One; for that the *Affyrians* and *Chaldeans* use *Gbad*, from the Hebrew *Achad*, to signify One; but *Adad* or *Adod*, which in the Scripture is *Hbadad*, is of a different Spelling: and that therefore *Drusus* reads in *Macrobius* *Hbadad*, which in the *Syriac* does signify One. *Sanchoniatho* mentions *Adodus*, who, as he tells us, was named King of the Gods. Hence came the Names of *Hadad* or *Adad*, and *Benbadad*, given to their Kings and Princes; from whence there is but a small Transition into *Adod*: for that it was antiently the Custom to give their Princes the Names of their Gods, is plain from *Gen.* xxvi. and *1 Kings* xx.

* *Grut.* p. 1050.

† *Arrian. Epict.* l. ii. c. 7.

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deify'd, gave the same afterwards to his Son *Mizraim* and others; who were upon the same Account consecrated, either as the Founders of Nations, or for being otherwise beneficial to Mankind. Thus amongst the *Egyptians*, all their first Kings were called *Pbarah*, and their later *Ptolemy*; and so the *Romans*, because their first Emperor had the Title of *Cæsar*, gave it also to all those who succeeded him.

HENCE we find *Baal*, not only a general Title, which was given to their canoniz'd Heroes, but frequently compounded to denote particular Deitys, as *Baal-Peor*, the God before us. There have been Variety of Opinions concerning *Baal-Peor*. Some say the Word *Peor* signifies to *ease Nature*, and that the *Jews* gave him that Name by Way of Derision, when the *Moabites* call'd him *Baal-Reem*, that is, *the God of Thunder*: as they gave *Bethel*, after the golden Calf had been set up there, the name of *Beth-aven*, that is, *the House of Iniquity*. Mr. Selden *, from *Peor's* being the Name of a Mountain in the Country of the *Moabites*, supposes, that by *Baal-Peor*, was meant no more than *Baal*, whose Temple stood on Mount

* Synt. i. c. 5.

Peor; as *Jupiter* was called *Olympius*, from his being worship'd on Mount *Olympus*. He nevertheless owns, that *Peor* might be some great Prince, who had been deified by his Subjects; tho he chooses rather to interpret, *Pf. cvi. 28. They joined themselves unto Baal-Peor, and ate the Sacrifices of the dead*, of such Sacrifices as were offered to the infernal Gods, than of those which were offered to such Gods as were dead Men. But *Bishop Cumberland's* * Conjecture concerning him, seems most probable; he supposes him to be the same with *Baal-Meon*, mentioned *Numb. xxxii. 38. Josh. xiii. 17. 1 Chron. v. 8. Jer. xlviii. and Ex. xxv. 9.* Amongst other Reasons for his Opinion he tells us, that the *Targum* of *Jonathan Ben-Uzziel* paraphrases *Baal-Meon, Num. xxxii. 38. a City of Balack, in which Israel destroyed the Idol Peor, in the House of Altars, &c.* The *Egyptians* and the rest of his Worshipers, as he takes it, intended to honour him when they call'd him *Meon*, as a Person who gave them Habitations and all the Benefits of a Colony: but the *Jews*, by calling him *Peor*, intended to let us know that he was the God who boasted publickly his Nakedness, who was

* *Phoen. Hist. p. 66.*

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void of all Modesty, and a Friend to Debauchery. The *Bishop* supposes *Meon* to be the same with *Menes* the first King of *Egypt*, whom he proves by Variety of Arguments to be no other than *Mizraim*.

THE Descendants of *Mizraim*, it may be, (as we have seen it to be agreeable to their Theology, to worship different Persons under the same Name, and the same Person under different Names) having consecrated him, pay'd him divine Honours under the Names of *Baal-Peor*, *Bacchus*, *Priapus*, *Osiris* and *Adonis*. We are inform'd by *Plutarch* and *Suidas*, that *Bacchus* was the same with *Osiris* or *Adonis*; and you may see at large in *Char-tarius* *, that he was the same likewise with *Priapus*. And the sort of Worship which was pay'd to all these Deitys was pretty much the same. *Osiris* and *Adonis*, as we have already taken Notice, were honoured with all the Pomp and Ceremonys us'd at Funerals; which suits with *Baal-Peor's* *Sacrifices* being called *the Sacrifices of the dead* †. And the Solemnitys in Honour of *Bacchus*; the carrying the *Phalli* in his Procession; in *At-*

* P. 294.

† Pl. cvi. 28.

tica *, his Votarys giving themselves over to all manner of Excess and Lewdness; in *Egypt*, his lifeless Image with an *αἰδοῖον τριπλάσιον*, and his living Image the Goat; as likewise the Manner of representing *Priapus*; agree very well with the constant Opinion of the *Jews* concerning *Baal-Peor*, that he was an obscene Deity; whose Worship, if we credit *St. Jerom* †, *Maimonides* ‡, and other *Rabbies*, consisted in such obscene Practices, or Postures at least, as are not fit to be named: and by what they have said, 'tis difficult to determine whether they were more ridiculous or impure. All this is agreeable with what we have already said of the wanton Daughters of *Moab*, engaging the *Israelites* in the lascivious Worship of this God; which *Hosea* || speaking of, says, *They went unto Baal-Peor, and separated themselves unto that Shame, and their Abominations were according as they loved.*

I MAKE no doubt, but that the first Introducers of the worshipping this Deity, meant by him some great Founder of their Nation and Kingdom; and that the

* Arch. Gr. I. ii. c. 20.

† On Hof. iv. 14. and ix. 10.

‡ Part iii. c. 49.

|| Hof. ix. 19.

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monstrous *Pudenda* they bestow'd upon him, was to represent his generative Virtue: and a proper Emblem, as they thought, of his great Fruitfulness and numerous Issue. And this is what, I suppose, is meant by that Inscription ΤΩ ΤΗ ΓΕΝΕΣΕΩΣ ΠΟΙΜΕΝΙ on a *Priapus* in *Begerus* ||; and by the ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ subscribed on another, in *La Chausse's Le Grand Cabinet Romain* †. Hence came those *Pballi* which they carried about in their religious Processions; so often taken notice of by *Herodotus*, *Plutarch*, and *Lucian*: and hence came the Adoration of the *Mendes* or *Goat*, amongst the *Egyptians*, which gave name to one of their *Nomes*. They worship him, says *Suidas*, as presiding over the seminal Virtue. And all this suits with the Account *Diodorus* * has given us of these *Pballi* and of the *Mendes*, which he concludes with saying, By this they would signify their Gratitude to the Gods, for the Populousness of their Country.

THE Heathens seem to have in their Theology, a frequent Remembrance of the great Fruitfulness of their Deitys; as ap-

|| V. iii. p. 261.

† P. 122.

* L. i. c. 6.

pears by what we have here said, and by what we shall have farther Occasion to take notice of, when we come to their great Goddess *Ashteroth*. They sometimes made it (as they did their Gods having been mortal Men) a Secret, which was to be communicated to such only as were initiated into the most hidden Mysterys of their Religion. *Herodotus* † tells us, that the Reason of the *Egyptian* Observances in the carrying the *Phalli*, was a sacred Mystery. And the Explication of the *Pomegranate* in the Hand of *Jupiter's* Statue on Mount *Cassius*, and in *Juno's* at *Mycene*, which signified by the great Number of Seeds contained in it, that those Deitys were the Parents of a very numerous Offspring, was, as *Pausanias* || affirms, a wonderful Secret. (It may be the *Syrian Rimmon* ‡ was such another Idol. The Word in that Language signifies a *Pomegranate* *.) But what puts this past Doubt is, the Discovery the *Roman* Consul made, of the *Bacchanal* Mysterys being made up of all such Pleasures as the most unbounded Prostitution could afford to private and nocturnal Assemblys;

† L. ii.

|| Corinthiaca.

‡ 2 Kings v. 18.

* See Mr. Bedford's *Script. Chron.* l. ii. c. 6. § 158.

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infomuch that none could be initiated into them, without renouncing all Modesty, while the Priests, who presided over them, prescribed in Public to those who were to be admitted, a ten Days Abstinence †.

THAT the *Israelites*, during their Stay in *Egypt*, join'd with the *Egyptians* in all the Absurditys of their Idolatry, we have seen in the former Volume: They were too near Neighbours to the *Mendesians*, not to be infected with this particular Part of it. The lower Canton of *Egypt*, which was water'd by many Streams from the *Nile*, was thought by *Joseph* the properest Situation for those whose Life was so much addicted to Pasturage. *Goshen*, it is certain, lay next *Canaan*; for 'tis plain from *Gen. xlvii. 28.* that *Jacob* went directly thither, and stay'd there till *Joseph* came to him; and its Name seems to be deriv'd from the *Hebrew* *Gesham*, which signifies *Rain*; because lying near the *Mediterranean* Sea, 'twas expos'd to Rains; which were very rare in other Parts of *Egypt*: and the *Mendes* was worship'd at one of the Mouths of the *Nile*, which *Pliny* tells

† See Senatus-Consulti de Bacchanalibus Explicatio, by *Egyptius*.

us he gave Name to. We may very fairly therefore conclude with * *Maimonides*, that this Worship of Goats is forbid, *Lev. xvii. 7. They shall no more offer their Sacrifices unto Devils, after whom they have gone a whoring.* For the Word which our Translators, following in this Place the LXX, render Devils, is *Seirim*, which properly signifies Goats. And I rather think, it was to these Abominations that *Ezekiel* alludes †, than to any spiritual Adultery: *They committed Whoredoms in Egypt, they committed Whoredoms in their Youth; there were their Breasts pressed, and there they bruised the Teats of their Virginity: and again ‡, Neither left she her Whoredoms brought from Egypt; for in her Youth they lay with her, and they bruised the Breasts of her Virginity, and poured their Whoredoms upon her. Diodorus* || assures us, that not only the Egyptians but other Nations likewise affirm'd, that by these Obscenitys they gave Thanks for the numerous Issue of their Progenitors. We are told the same thing by ** *Herodotus*, and †† *Strabo*; which must make us,

* Part iii. c. 46.

† Chap. xxiii. 3.

‡ Ver. 8.

|| L. i. c. 6.

• L. ii.

†† L. xvii.

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with *Bishop Cumberland* observe ††, how much better the Old Testament has preserved the Memory of God's multiplying Mankind so abundantly: that one Verse *, *He encreased his People greatly, and made them stronger than their Enemies*, shews plainly, without such an obscene Religion, that the true God did multiply his People before the *Egyptians* Faces, more than all their shameless Gods were able to do for their Worshipers.

THE *Israelites* having devoted themselves to the Worship of *Baal-Peor*, whatever that Idol was, † *The Anger of the Lord was kindled against them*. He commands *Moses* to apprehend the Ring-leaders in the Abomination, and to hang them up before the Sun; and then the Judges to put to Death all who were guilty within their Districts. But the Magistrates being able to punish only the open Offenders, that the secret ones might not escape, he sent a Plague upon the People, which swept away twenty three thousand in one Day ‡.

†† Phœn. Hist. p. 70.

* Ps. cv. 24.

† Numb. xxv. 3.

‡ 1 Cor. x. 8.

GOD having thus taken away all those who had fallen into the Worship of *Baal-Peor*, makes a farther Provision to retain the Innocent to himself. He commands || them to vex those who had vexed them with their Wives: and knowing how dangerous it would be for them, to have any Intercourse with these People, gives them that farther Precept to prevent their Commerce, * *The Moabites shall not enter into the Congregation of the Lord; even to their tenth Generation shall they not enter into the Congregation of the Lord for ever. Because, when ye came forth out of Egypt, they hired against thee, Balaam the Son of Beor of Pethor of Mesopotamia, to curse thee.* Where, by the by, the *Israelites* are not forbid to entertain those People as *Profelytes*; nor prohibited suffering them to worship God in the Temple; for that, as we have seen at large, was permitted to the People of all Nations, who would renounce their Idolatry: but that they should not admit them into the Assembly of their Elders, or to bear Office in their Commonwealth; or else that they should not (as the Generality of Writers, both

|| Numb. xxv. 17, 18.

* Deut. xxiii. 3, 4.

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Jewish and Christian, understand it) intermarry with them *.

BUT notwithstanding, it was not long before their Government was so unsettled, that every Man did that which seemed right in his own Eyes; when, as the Prophet *Azariah* describes the Infelicity of the Times, they were † without the true God, and without a teaching Priest, and without Law. Anarchy prevail'd, and they fell again into Idolatry. It crept first into the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and thence soon spread amongst the *Danites*. The Superstition of a rich Widow gave rise to it. She was Mother to *Micah*, an *Ephraimite*, and had dedicated, or devoted ‡ eleven hundred *Shekels* of Silver to the Lord. These were stolen from her, before she had perform'd her Vow, by her Son, who afterwards ingenuously confess'd his Theft, and brought back the Money to his Mother. She, for ¶ 200 of the *Shekels*, procured a graven Image and a molten Image. These she put, together with an *Ephod* and *Teraphim*, which her Son bought with the rest of the Money, in a Room at *Micah's* House.

* See *Bp. Patrick on the Place*, and the Authors by him refer'd to.

† 2 Chron. xv. 3.

‡ Judges xvii. 2, 3.

¶ Ver. 4.

THEY

THEY having thus furnished their Chapel; *Micab* *, that he might be compleat in his Devotion, consecrates one of his Sons to be the Priest. But meeting afterwards with a *Levite* whom the Iniquity of the Times, || *there being no King in Israel*, forc'd to wander from Place to Place for a Subsistence, he thought he had more Right to the Priesthood, tho he was not of the Family of *Aaron*, than his Son, and having tempted him with a yearly Stipend of † *ten Shekels of Silver*, a Suit of Clothes and his Diet, consecrates him Priest in his Son's Place, and imagin'd ‡ *the Lord would do him good, because he had a Levite for his Priest.*

IT is not so plain what sort of Worship they here set up; as that they had no Intention to forsake the Worship of the true God. But if Religion was to be judged of according to the Intention, there would be scarce any such Thing as Idolatry in the World. Throughout the whole Story they appear to have a Reverence for *Jehovah*. The Mother dedicated the Silver unto the Lord. And by the

* *Ver. 5.*

|| *Ver. 6.*

† *Ver. 10.*

‡ *Ver. 13.*

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whole they seem to have had no other Intention, than to erect a private Chapel of their own, in imitation of the House of God at *Shiloh*, that they and their Neighbours might not have the Inconvenience of going up thither to the *Tabernacle*. They conform in some measure to the *Law*. 'Tis suppos'd it was the eldest of *Micah's* Sons whom he chose to be his Priest; and when he met with a *Levite*, he did not stand for Price, but hired him to officiate in his Son's stead. This shews he had some Respect to the *Law*, otherwise it would have been the same thing to him, who had officiated; and they both seem to hope for a Blessing in setting up this Worship, whatever it was. But tho, it may be, neither *Micah* nor his Mother had any Intention to forsake the Faith or Worship of their Country; yet I cannot think, with our learned Countryman Dr. *Spencer* *, that their *Images* and *Teraphim* so exactly agreed with the *Cherubims* which cover'd the *Ark* and the *Urim* of the High-Priest, as the *Ephod* might with his Vestments. For to omit other Differences, the *Cherubims* were both alike; These, the one a *graven*, the other a *molten Image*: and what-

* De Urim & Thum.

soever the *Urim* was, (about which there are so many Opinions and Obscuritys, that another Oracle is wanted to determine what it was, I can by no means imagine it with him to be a *Teraphim* *, or

C 3 little

* The *Teraphim* are generally rank'd by Expositors in the Number of Idols, tho they have been very much perplex'd to determine what they were. The most current Opinion is, that they were the human Images, whereby the Eastern People pretended to receive Answers from their Gods. There is no certainty as to the Etymology of the Word, or indeed whether it be *Hebrew* or an *Exotick*; and Translators vary so much in rendring it, that they give us but little Light toward the understanding it. There is no more to be gather'd from the *Talmudists* and *Targumists*, than from the *LXX*, who generally translate it *θεραφεῖν*, or *θεραφὶν*; but *Gen.* iii. 19, 34, 35. *ἑδωκά*; *Ezek.* xxi. 21. *γλυπτὸν*; 1 *Sam.* xix. 13, 16. *κεντάφια*; *Hos.* iii. 4. *ἑδεῖς ἱερεῖας*. *ἑδεῖς δηλῶν*; and *Zach.* x. 2. *οἱ ἀποφθεγγόμενοι ἐλάλησαν*. The *vulgar Latin* in three Places retain *Teraphim*, but in *Gen.* translates the Word *Deos meos* & *Deos tuos*; and in other Places by *Statuæ*, *Simulacra*, or *Idola*, and sometimes *Figuras Idolorum*. They who derive it from the *Hebrew* *Rapha*, which signifies to *heal*, as if they were *Preservers* from Mischief, take them to be a sort of *Penates*, or Household Gods, and understand accordingly those Words of *Laban* (*Gen.* xxxi. 30.) *Wherefore hast thou stolen my Gods?* But the *Hebrew* Doctors, as Mr. *Selden* tells us, question whether they were, in those antient Times, worshipp'd as Gods, or only us'd as Instruments of Divination. And this is favour'd by Dr. *Castle* and *Van Dale's* Derivation of the Word from the *Syriack* *Taras*, which signifies *percontans* or *inquirens*; implying that they were indued with the Gift of Prediction. And therefore *Hottinger* (*Hist. Orient. l. i. c. 8.*) makes them to be the same with the *Arabian Talismans*, in after Times, which have the same Name given them, and were Figures in humane Shape made under a proper conjunction of the Heavenly Bodies

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little human Image wrapt up in the Fold
of the High Priest's Breast-plate. This

is

Bodys, in order to receive their Influence. This Opinion seems to be the most probable. The Eastern People are all of them very much addicted to this Superstition of *Talismans*, even to this Day. The *Persians* (Chardin, of the Sciences of the *Pertians*, v. ii. c. 10.) call them *Telefin*, a Word plainly deriv'd from the Hebrew, *Teraphim*. But Dr. *Spencer* (*De Urim & Thum.*) supposes that these Images or Idols came from the *Amorites* or *Chaldeans*, and that *Teraphim* is a *Chaldee* Word, and the same with the Hebrew *Seraphim*, the Change of *S* into *T* being common in those Languages; and he makes them to be Figures of the Angelical Powers which attended upon the divine Majesty; and gives us a great many Reasons, and Opinions of learned Men to prove it. And it is, I think, very probable, that they were Images made to resemble the heavenly Host which waited upon the Appearance of the Divinity, or of the Angels that were sent in the first Ages of the World, to perform the divine Commands. But I can by no means believe, with that learned Man, that they were Images, which being dedicated to such Angels, were inspired by them to deliver their Responses; or that God gave his Answers by such Figures, either before or after the *Urim*. This would have open'd a wide Door for Idolatry. The Superstition of the Eastern People, it is certain, led them to make use of them, whatever they were, in *Augury*, and to imagine they could by them be inform'd of future Events; as is plain from what we read of the King of *Babylon*. He (*Ezek. xxi. 21.*) stood at the parting of the Way, at the Head of the two Ways, to use Divination; he made his Arrows bright, he consulted with Images, (that is, *Teraphim*.) And it is said (*Zech. x. 2.*) the Idols, (that is, *Teraphim*) have spoken Vanity, and the Diviners have seen a Lye. In short, if we consider the Descriptions the *Rabbis* give us of their *Teraphim*, and the *Arabian* Writers of their *Talismans*, who tell us how they were made, and Divination perform'd by them, as they are to be found in *Selden* (*Synt. i. c. 2.*) *Hottinger* (*L. i. c. 8.*) and *Van Dale* (*de Div. p. 659, &c.*) notwithstanding the Incrediblety they would put us off with, we may conclude them

is an Opinion Dr. *Pocock* * has sufficiently confuted, and shewn to favour more of Idolatry and Heathenism, than of an Institution that was design'd in direct Opposition to them. I rather think therefore, with Mr. *Selden* † and the best Commentators, that notwithstanding their Reverence for the true God, they blended his Worship with that of Idols. *Without doubt be consecrated*, says Mr. *Selden*, the *Ephod* and the *Levite* to the true God; but the *Teraphim*, the molten and the graven Image be devoted to Devils. Or, it may be, having seen these religiously us'd by the Heathens, he thought they might be sanctified by being dedicated to the true God, tho they us'd them in their Enquiries of the Dead: And accordingly, as if they had been the Oracle of the true God, they have the same Regard for the *Tera-*

them to be such Pieces of Machinery, as *Athanasius Kircher* says (*Phonurgia*, l. i. c. 6.) he himself made of a human Figure, from which, by the Assistance of a Tube, he could answer any Question demanded; insomuch that ignorant People concluded his Image to be possess'd by the Devil. Such was the prophetick Head made by *Pope Sylvester II.* (*Malmsb. l. ii. c. 10.*) and such that made by the learned Prier, our Countryman, *Bacon*. So that, after all, we may determine these *Teraphim* and *Talismans* to be no other than such Machines as we now meet with in the Clockmakers Shops. (See the Authors collected by *Fabricius*, *Bibliographia Ant. c. xii. §. 5*)

* On *Hof. iii. 4.*

† *Synt. i. c. 1.*

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phim, the graven and the molten Image as for the Ephod and the Levite. So that whatsoever their Intention was, it being to Worship God by Images, we may conclude it was idolatrous; and that therefore Micah is said to have * *had a House of Gods.*

By that Time the Tribe of Ephraim was corrupted with this Idolatry; the Danites †, who, thro' their own Sloth or Want of the other Tribes Assistance, were straiten'd by the old Inhabitants of the Land, sent five Men to find out a proper Place for a Colony. These taking up their Lodging near Micah's House, and understanding from a Levite the State of his Affairs, desired him to ask Counsel of God, as to the Success of their Undertaking. The Levite feign'd such an Answer from his Oracle, as assur'd them of the Care and Protection of Heaven; which made them, when they came again with six hundred others to take Possession of the Land they had spy'd out, persuade them to rob Micah's Chapel of its Furniture, and invite the Levite to go with them. This they readily consented to, imagin-

* Ver. 5.

† Judg. xviii.

ing that those Idols from which they had received an encouraging Answer at the Beginning of their Undertaking, would be a Means to crown it with Success. So they seiz'd by violence * *Micab's graven and molten Image*, his *Teraphim* and *Ephod*, and carried 'em with them to *Laiſh*, against which their Expedition was intended; and there erected them, after they had rebuilt that City, and given it the Name of *Dan*. Here they continued the same sort of Worship as had been carried on at *Micab's House*; and the *Levite* and his Sons minister'd there as Priests, till the *Philistines* destroyed the House of † *the true God at Shiloh*. This *House of Gods* escaped the Reformation of the *Judges*, altho they were all of them very zealous for the Lord; either from *Dan's* being in the very Skirts of the Kingdom, or that scarce any of them rul'd over all the People, but only over such Tribes as they had freed from Captivity. But God rais'd up the *Philistines* to execute his wrath upon these Idols, who, when ‡ *he forsook the Tabernacle of Shiloh, and deliver'd his Strength into Captivity*, destroyed this *House of Gods*, and carried

Ver. 17.

† Ver. 30, 31.

‡ Ps. lxxvii. 60.

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their Priests captive. But *Dan* notwithstanding continu'd so famous for these Idols, that *Jeroboam* made choice of it, as we shall hereafter see, to place one of his *golden Calves* in.

BUT this was not the only Corruption which crept in amongst the *Israelites* at this unhappy Juncture. That People were always so ready to change their religious Customs for those of other Nations, that they could not but suffer from the Quarter of Idolatry, at a Time when their Government was loose and out of frame, the Authority of their Elders slighted, and Men liv'd without any Restraint, either of Shame or Law. And accordingly during this Dissolution of the Administration, they * *forsook the Lord, and served Baal and Ashteroth*. Deities of which I shall say no more, than that she who is here called *Ashteroth*, is called *the Groves*, in Ch. iii. 7. Which has made the Generality of Interpreters, understanding *Baalim* of their consecrated Heroes, suppose, that by the *Groves*, is meant *the Trees* which the antient Heathens dedicated to them, and which compos'd a shady Place where they were

* Judg. ii. 13.

worship'd. This is occasion'd by the near Affinity the Word *Ascheroth*, which signifies *Groves*, has with *Ashteroth*, the proper Name of the Goddess; which has made some derive her Name from it, as if she was so called from her being worship'd, as it is certain she was, in *Woods and Groves*. The Hebrew is *weth baasheroth*, that is, *and Asheroth*, or *the Groves*; on which Mr. Selden * observes, that alluding at the same Time, to the proper Name *Ashteroth*, and signifying *Groves*, it may very properly be us'd for the Images which were in the *Groves*. *Aschora*, a *Grove*, in the Singular Number, has two Plurals, *Ascheroth* and *Ascherim*; the latter of which constantly signifies *Images*, as the former properly enough, may *the Images of Astarte*. Thus *Kimchi* says in the Root *Asbur*, that every thing that was worship'd was called *Asherah*. This will explain to us several Passages, which would otherwise be very unintelligible. Thus *2 Kings xvii. 10. They set them up Images and Groves in every high Hill, and under every green Tree*; plainly shews this Word is not to be understood of *Groves*, but some *Idol*: for how should *Groves* be set un-

* Synt. ii. c. 2.

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der every green Tree, as the *Asherim* are here said to be? and so *Manasseh* is said, to have * set a graven Image of the Grove that he had made in the House of the Lord; which can't well be understood of the Representation of a Place planted with Trees, as *Josephus* and some others would have it, but of a wooden Idol: it being express'd by a Word denoting a Grove or Oak, by way of Reproach to such an improper Deity. And 2 Kings xxiii. 6. where *Josiah* is said to have brought out the Grove from the House of the Lord, it must be meant the wooden Image, or Image of *Astarte*: for as *Procopius Gazeus* says, where the LXX translate this Word the Grove, others render it 'Ασάρωθ or 'Ασάρωθ; that is, *Astarte*. And, indeed, all these Places allude to the Worship which *Jezebel* brought with her from *Sidon*; and which *Ahab*, out of Complaisance to that imperious Woman, corrupted *Samaria* with. *Astarte* was there in the highest Reputation, and the *Sidonians* had no other Deity, which could be so properly meant by the Words here made use of, or by *Asaroth*, *Asarim* or *Asarab*, which are us'd in other Places, as this. And in this Sense other Texts, where Groves are mentioned, are to be understood; and in particular *Judg.* vi. 25, 28. where *Gi-*

* 2 Kings. xxi. 7.

deon is described as cutting down *the Wood or Grove*, that was *by the Altar of Baal*, it ought not to be translated, says Mr. Selden, *by the Altar*, but *upon the Altar*; and accordingly the LXX translate it *ἐν αὐτῷ*.

THIS Defection, and others which the *Israelites* at this Time fell into, was highly provoking to Almighty God. To punish ther Infidelity, he deliver'd them into the Hands of their Enemys; and upon their Repentance, he raised them up Deliverers. The Severity with which the *Midianites* treated them, and the Message of a Prophet, had brought them to a due Sense of their Sins, when the Angel of the Lord appear'd to *Gideon* * *the Son of Joash the Abiezrite*, and commission'd him to deliver them. He obeys the divine Command, throws down his Father's Altars, breaks his Images in Pieces, and with the Wood of them, offers a Sacrifice for *Israel* to the true God. By this he acquir'd the Title of *Jerubbaal* †; that is, *the Adversary of Baal*. But he stop'd not here; by a Stratagem ‡ he made the *Midianitish* Army defeat itself, with the Slaughter of a hundred

* Judg. vi.

† Ver. 32.

‡ Chap. vii. 16, &c.

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thousand Men; the rest he pursued and destroyed; put four of their Kings to Death, and chastis'd the Citys which refused him Refreshment. The Deliverance he wrought for his Countrymen, gain'd him such Love and Affection, that they made him an Offer † of the Kingdom, which his Piety refus'd.

GIDEON is no sooner dead, but they fall again into Idolatry, and make an Idol of the Monument of their Deliverance. *Gideon* having had an Inclination to perpetuate the Memory of so miraculous a Victory, upon his refusing the Kingdom, requested of them the *Ear-rings of their Prey*: With these (*they weighing a thousand and seven hundred Shekels of Gold **, or about forty three Pound weight) and the golden Ornaments, and Collars, and Chains that were upon their Camels Necks, He made an † *Ephod*, which was the upper Vestment of the High Priest's Robes, and set it up in Memory of his Victory. This he made choice of, rather than the Hanging up of Trophys, the erecting of a Pillar, or the raising a vast Heap of Stones, which in those antient Times was

† Judg. viii. 22, 23.

* Ver. 26

† Ver. 27.

the usual Method of perpetuating such Actions ; as a Token that he ascrib'd his Victory to *Jehovah* alone, and that the Restoration of his Religion was his greatest Glory. It has been thought by some, that the *Ephod* was his military Banner, (as the Archiepiscopal *Pall* is his Grace of *Canterbury's* Arms) under which his Soldiers fought in this Expedition ; and if so, 'tis no wonder that the Standard, or Ensign, which his Soldiers followed, should be made choice of to preserve the Memory of his Success. This *Ephod* he put in his City, even in *Ophrah* ; which may imply, that he built a Tabernacle, or erected some Building to put it in : and that he made choice of *Ophrah*, it being the Place where the Angel of the Lord had appear'd unto him, who offer'd Sacrifice with Fire, which rose up out of a Rock *, and commission'd him to work those Wonders he had perform'd. And it is not improbable, but that the better to celebrate his Achievements, he appointed in the Place where he fix'd this Memorial of his Glory, some stated Festival for the People to meet and thank God for the Deliverance he had wrought. But in process of Time, when the Is-

* Judg. vi 21.

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raelites return'd again to Idolatry, instead of meeting to offer up their Praises and Thanksgivings to God, at this Monument of his Mercy, they ador'd the *Ephod* itself; and all *Israel* went thither a whoring after it*; which is the usual Expression for their falling into Idolatry. This we must suppose happened after *Gideon's* Death; for we can't well think that so good a Man as he, who was invested both by God and the People with an almost absolute Command, would have suffer'd it in his Life-Time: and when we are told that this Thing became a Snare unto *Gideon* and his House†, we are to imagine is meant, that his Memory and Character suffer'd in his Posterity, who by their falling into this Idolatry, were extinct in *Israel*.

BUT this was not the only Idolatry the *Israelites* at that Time corrupted themselves with; they went a whoring after *Baalim*, which, as we have seen, was a general Name given to all their consecrated Heroes; but in a particular Manner they went over to the Worship of *Baal-berith*. This is a Deity we no where

* Ver. 27.

† *Idid*.

meet with but on this Occasion; and by what is said of him, it is certain that he had a Temple dedicated to him at *Schechem*; and, from the People of that City's giving to *Abimelech* * *threescore and ten Pieces of Silver out of it*, we may conclude, that they made it their publick Treasury; and from their retreating to it, when he destroyed that City †, that it was likewise their chief Fortress or Citadel. The Word *Berith* signifying a *Covenant* or *Contract*, has made the *Chaldee* Interpreters suppose him to be called so from his Office, and to be that *Baal* who presided over Contracts or Covenants, Oaths, Treatys and Alliances; whom they look'd upon as the God of Honesty and Plain-Dealing. As there was a *Jupiter* πῑςιοϛ, whom we find mention'd by *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, and is by *Gyraldus* ‡ suppos'd to be the same as the *Fidius* we meet with in *Ovid* ||.

Quærebam Nonas Sancto Fidione referrem.

OTHERS will have that Name to be given him from his Worshipers entring

* Judg. ix. 4.

† Ver. 46.

‡ Synt. ii.

|| In Fastis.

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into *Contract* or *Covenant* together to promote his Service. But *Bochart* * interprets *Baal-berith*, *Baal of Berytus*; and, from *Baal's* being of both Genders, he supposes this Deity to be the same as the Goddess *Beroe*, celebrated by the Poet *Nonnus* †, and who gave name to, and was worshipp'd at that Town: and he imagines that the *Israelites* came to the Knowledge of her by *Gideon's* having made some League, or traded with that famous City. Tho it may be the Credit *Sanchioniatho*, who was of this City, and flourish'd about that Time, was in, prevail'd with the *Israelites* to worship this Deity. He himself tells us ‡, that in writing this History, he made use of the Memoirs of *Hierombilus Priest of the God Jao*; by whom, learned Men ** have thought he meant no other than *Gideon*, to whom, as I just now said, the Scripture gives the Name of *Jerubbaal* or *Jerobaal*, and who might have been taken for a Priest of the God *Jao*, from his sacrificing to || the God *Jehovah*. And it may be

* *Canaan, Part ii. l. ii. c. 17.*

† *Dionysiac. l. xli.*

‡ *Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. i. c. 3.*

** *Bochart. ibid. Huet's Demonstr. Ev. Prop. iv. c. 3. art. 2. & Vossius de Hist. Græc. l. i. c. 1.*

|| *Judg. vi. 25.*

from thence conjectured that the People of *Israel*, were no Strangers to him.

BUT Punishment soon followed their Sin; their Enemys spoil, harrafs, and take Possession of their Country, God having fold them at once * *into the Hands of the Philistines, and into the hands of the Children of Ammon*. They were not wholly deliver'd from this Captivity, till by || *Samuel's* Persuasion, they solemnly repented at *Mizpeh*; and then by Thunder from Heaven, God destroyed their Enemys, and put an End to their Tyranny and Oppression.

SAMUEL being grown old, associated his Sons with him in the Government; but their ill management made the *Israelites* dislike their Constitution: or rather they made that a Pretence to demand what their Pride and Vanity had long suggested to them. That they might have the same outward Pomp and Pageantry in their Government, as they saw in that of their Neighbours, they required a King to be set over them: *God in his Anger* †

* Judg. x. 7.

|| 1 Sam. vii. 5.

† Hof. xiii. 11.

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granted their Request, and so brought it about, that *Saul* who was seeking his Father's Affes, found a Kingdom.

BUT for his Disobedience to the divine Command he was rejected by God, and *David* anointed to succeed him. We do not find indeed that during his Reign, the People openly revolted to their Idols: Their Manners were visibly enough corrupt and irregular, but we do not find that they fell into open Idolatry. It may be the Laws were pretty well executed against it; for it is plain from 1 *Sam.* xxviii. 9. *that he cut off those who had familiar Spirits and Wizards out of the Land:* And yet he himself afterwards had recourse to one of them. The consulting of these Impostors, as well as the Imposture itself, was, without Doubt, a very gross and odious Species of Idolatry; it being a paying divine Worship, and a direct resorting to an impure Spirit. And if he who expected an Answer or Counsel from such Spirit, did not burn Incense or perform some other religious Act, in Honour of it, as some have believ'd, he attributed to it such a Knowledge as was peculiar (or at least little less,) to the divine Nature; and gave a Trust and Credit to the Answer which was pretended to be receiv'd

ceiv'd from it. And indeed, as *Filescus* * has learnedly shewn, the Nature of all their *Magical* Performances, of which this was one, was such, that they were necessarily accompany'd with Idolatry. I shall not therefore pass over *Saul's* consulting with the *Witch of Endor*, without giving an Account of it.

HE was just ready to fight a Battle with the *Philistines*, when, as was his Duty, he address'd himself to God, to know how to carry himself in the Action. But † the Lord answer'd him not, neither by Dreams, nor by Urim, nor by Prophets. Upon this he commands a Woman to be found him ‡, who had a familiar Spirit ||, that is, a *Ventriloquist* **; his Courtiers were

* De Idololat. Polit. & Magica, § 5, 6, 7.

† 1 Sam. xxviii. 6.

‡ See the Authors collect'd by Fabricius, Bibliographia Ant. c. 12. § 2. under the Articles, Engastrimythi and Necromantia.

|| Ver. 7.

** The Hebrew Word has no Epithet joyn'd to it, but is rendred in our Version, a Woman that hath a familiar Spirit; occasioned, as Bishop Hutchinson (on Witchcraft, ch. 14.) has observ'd, by our Translators Complaisance to K. James the First. For setting about their Work after that Prince had wrote his *Dæmonologia*, they receiv'd into it, by his particular Desire, several Phrases, which favour the vulgar Notions of Witchcraft, which were not in the old Translation, and first brought up that gross Notion of a familiar Spirit.

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too obsequious, and accordingly inform'd him of such a Woman at *Endor*. *Saul* disguises himself, and with only two in his Retinue, the better to avoid the Enemy, makes her a Visit by Night. After the first Salutations were over, he demanded of her a Trial of her Skill. The Woman was too crafty to be surpriz'd, mention'd the King's Edict, and excus'd herself, till she was assur'd by an Oath, that she might securely trust him. She then ask'd him, if he was not desirous to have some dead * Person brought up to him, and who he was: *Bring me up Samuel*, says the King. By that Time she could be well suppos'd to have finish'd her Charm, she crys out in a Fright, *Sir, You have deceiv'd me, you are King Saul*. Fear not, says he, I will keep my Promise; but tell me what appear'd to you? *I saw a Majestick Person, of an eminent and high Station, ascending out of the Earth*, reply'd the Woman. *What Form is he of?* says the King. Of a venerable Aspect, said she, and in a

* That their Eastern Impostors did frequently pretend to bring up the Dead, see the Authors quoted by *Pool*, on 1 Sam. xxviii. 11. We have a remarkable Instance of it about the Time of *Saul*, in *Homer*, where *Ulysses* (*Odysf.* 11.) by the Assistance of *Circe*, consults *Tiresias's* Ghost; and *Æschylus* has a Tragedy intitled *Perseæ*, in which the Shade of *Darius* is call'd up, and foretels Queen *Atossa* all her Misfortunes.

prevent Superstition. 39

sacerdotal Vest. By this Description he
 * *perceiv'd that it was Samuel, and he
 stooped with his Face to the Ground and
 bowed himself.* Upon this the Ghost de-
 manded of him, why he call'd him up.
Saul excus'd himself, that the Trouble he
 was in, and the Perplexity of his Affairs,
 had urg'd him to it. Thou senseless and
 abandon'd Man, says *Samuel*, wherefore
 dost thou ask of me, *seeing the Lord is
 departed from thee?* &c.

THIS indeed is a Point which the learn-
 ed have differ'd upon in all Ages; and very
 great Authoritys, it is to be confess'd, there
 are for Variety of Explanations. *Justin
 Martyr, Origen, Anastasius of Antioch,
 St. Ambrose, St. Austin, and Thomas A-
 quinas*, and all their Followers, some of
 the *Rabbis*, and most of the Popish Writers,
 are of Opinion that *Samuel* did really
 appear; and they have fram'd Variety of
 Hypotheses to render this Story as little
 shocking to Reason and Faith as possible.
 But to let them and their Suppositions
 alone, upon examining the whole Matter,
 I can see no reason to have Recourse to
 any thing beyond the Power of a cunning
 and dextrous Woman: for as *Horace* says,

* *Ver. 14.*

*Never presume to make a God appear.
But for a Business worthy of a God. **

IF we examine this Matter, we shall find the only Difficulty to be, that the Scripture give us this Relation, not according to the Reality, but the Appearance † of Things; not as the Facts were really perform'd, but as the Woman pretended, and as they seem'd, and were believ'd to be by *Saul*, without determining any thing of the Manner, which it certainly would have done, and have spoke more plainly of, if there had been any Thing extraordinary in it. *Saul*, it is certain, was a very superstitious Person, and had an Opinion of Necromancy and Incantations. It is certain likewise that he was very much dispirited, and void of Courage; and upon his being deny'd an Answer from God, his Mind was so afflicted, that his Understanding was as much shatter'd as his Affairs. To this we may add, that he was weak in Body for want of Food ‖, having eat nothing for twenty four Hours. What remained now for one of this Dis-

* Art of Poetry.

† That this is common in Scripture, see the Instances taken notice of by *Pool*, on 1 Sam. xxviii. 14.

‖ Ver. 20.

position,

position, and in these Circumstances, to be impos'd upon by a skilful and cunning Woman, but for her to have a Knowledge of his Person, and the State of his Affairs? This she could not fail of. It is probable she might before have had a Sight of the King. *Gilboa*, where the Camp then was, and had for some Time been, was not far from *Endor*, as appears by *Saul's* coming to her, his being entertain'd and returning again, and all in the Space of one Night; which indeed was as much Time as the Circumstances the Army was in would allow the General to be absent. Besides, in those early Ages, Kings liv'd with more Familiarity and less Distance towards their Subjects: Thus we find *Saul*, after he was anointed King, follow'd his old Profession of Life, * *He came from after the Herd out of the Field*. But if she had never seen him, she could not but have heard, † *that from his Shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the People*. So that by the Goodliness of his Person, she might easily guess who he was; not to say as the *Hebrew* Doctors do, that this Woman was of a good Family, and *Abner's* Mother, and

* 1 Sam. xi. 5.

† 1 Sam. ix. 2.

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that he and *Amasa* were the two Gentlemen who accompanied the King. Nay, if she had had no personal Knowledge of the King, his calling for *Samuel*, might naturally cause her to suspect who he was. But she suppresses her Conjectures, and carries the King into a private Room, (as is suggested, v. 21.) where being alone, he was to hear what the suppos'd Apparition, or she, who had the Art of speaking like *a Spirit out of a Bottle, or the Ground*, should answer him. And when she saw, as she pretended, *Samuel*, as if she had known it by her Art, she cries out in a Fright, * *Why hast thou deceiv'd me? for thou art Saul.*

THIS being suppos'd, we shall find nothing in the Answers given to *Saul*, but what might very well come from a Woman of Subtlety ready in her Profession. *What sawest thou?* says the King. *I saw a Judge ascending out of the Earth* †, replies the Woman; for so the *Jews* understand the Word *Elohim*, which we translate *Gods*, meaning *Samuel* who had judged the People. And any one who had ever seen a Judge might answer the next Ques-

* Ver. 12.

† Ver. 13.

tion, *What Form is he of? An old Man cometh up, and he is cover'd with a Mantle, which was the Robe worn by their Kings, Prophets, and Judges. Upon this Saul concluding that it was Samuel, stoop'd with his Face to the Ground and bowed himself* *. The Woman was too quick to let this Opportunity slip of letting herself into his Affairs. *Why hast thou disquieted and brought me up †? says the suppos'd Spectre. Saul inadvertently in answering this Question, laid open the miserable State of his Condition, and gave the Woman a still farther Occasion of bewildering him: I am sore distress'd, says he, for the Philistines make War against me, and God is departed from me, and answereth me no more; neither by Prophets nor by Dreams: therefore I have called thee, that thou mayst make known to me what I shall do ‡.* The Woman might with Ease return the Answer she did to this, without any Assistance either divine or diabolical, or indeed without straining for a Conjecture. *Wherefore dost thou ask me, seeing the Lord is departed from thee, and become thine Enemy? And the Lord hath done to him as he spake by me, for the Lord hath rent the Kingdom out of*

* Ver. 14.

† Ver. 15.

‡ Ibid.

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*thine Hand, and given it to thy Neighbour, even unto David, because thou obeyed'st not the Voice of the Lord, nor executed'st his fierce Wrath upon Amalek, therefore hath the Lord done this Thing unto thee this Day *.*

This was no more than every Body knew. No one could be ignorant of what had pass'd between Saul and Samuel in the Face of all the People about Agag, that † *the Lord had rent the Kingdom of Israel from him, and had given it to his Neighbour.* And the Persecution which David had long lain under on account of the King's Jealousy, was not less known. And without doubt the Eyes of all the People were upon him, as the Person appointed by God to succeed the King. And then the Consternation she plainly saw in Saul who commanded, made her conclude the like of the Army, which she was near enough to have confirm'd to her by other Means, or those Emissarys which People of her Profession have abroad. And knowing how numerous the *Philistines* were above the *Israelites*, she confidently pronounces, ‡ *Moreover the Lord will also deliver Israel with thee into the Hand of*

* Ver. 16, 17, 18.

† 1 Sam. xv. 28.

‡ Ver. 19.

the Philistines, and to morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me: and the Lord also shall deliver the Host of Israel into the Hand of the Philistines.

AND after all, if we examine farther, we shall see that this Woman acted her Part but very indifferently. She makes her Spectre *ascend out of the Earth*, when it should have come down from Heaven; and to quit the Character of a Prophet, and say such Things, as *Samuel* would not have said. Could a Prophet have complained of the Power of Magick, or that his Repose in the other World was disturb'd by the Incantation of a wretched Woman? Or would *Samuel*, who had openly reprov'd that Prince when alive, and had * *mourned for Saul*, even after he was forsaken by God, have insulted his Condition, instead of rebuking the Hardness of his Heart, and his Recourse to Necromancy? Neither shall we find her more fortunate in her Conjectures. All she says is either false or uncertain. However we understand that part of the Prophecy relating to the Fate of *Israel*, it is not strictly true; for if only of the Host or Army, she foretels less than besel them; for the

* 1 Sam. xv. 35.

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Philistines took possession of the Valley of Jezreel, and came and dwelt in their Cities *. And, if of all *Israel*, the Prophecy was plainly false. There is as little Truth in what she says of his Sons; for what she foretels of them, happen'd but to three; and there were *Mephibosheth* and *Ishbosheth*, who liv'd long after. And then the mention she makes of the Time, gives little Credit to what she says. For if the Word *Machaar*, which we translate to *Morrow*, be taken in a loose and indefinite Sense, as it sometimes may, it was using an ambiguous Term, as the Fortunetellers generally do: but if the Word be taken strictly for the next Day, it was palpably false; for 'tis plain to any one who considers *Chap.* xxix. 10. and xxx. 1, 2. that *Saul* liv'd five or six Days after.

AFTER this, the Kingdom was free from Idolatry, till such time as *Solomon*, having his Mind enervated, and his Understanding darken'd with Sensuality, was so transported by the Charms of his strange Wives and Concubines, that they || turn'd away his Heart after other Gods. It may perhaps be wondered, how he, who en-

* 1 Sam. xxxi. 7.

|| 1 Kings xi. 4.

joy'd such a superlative Degree of Knowledge and Understanding, should ever be brought by his Wives to transgress the Law of that God, who had exalted him to the highest Pitch of Grandeur and Magnificence. But, it may be, he was affected with his great Wisdom, and imagin'd he could reconcile his Religion with theirs, and find out some good meaning or other in all their Superstitions. (Happy would it have been for Christianity, if the most learned Members of the Church of *Rome* had not imitated this false Turn *Solomon* gave his Wisdom!) Accordingly we do not find they ever persuaded him entirely to forsake the Lord, but they so inveigled him, that he join'd the Worship of their Gods with the true. † *For Solomon went after Ashtoreth the Goddess of the Zidonians, and after Milcom the Abomination of the Ammonites; and Solomon did Evil in the Sight of the Lord, and went not fully after the Lord, as did David his Father.* Neither did he arrive at that Audaciousness, which some of his Successors afterwards did: He did not permit strange Worship to be exercised within the *holy City*, but built the *high Places* for his Wives Idols on Mount Olivet, without the

† *Ver. 5, 6.*

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*Walls of Jerusalem. * Then did Solomon build an high Place for Chemosh the Abomination of Moab, in the Hill that is before Jerusalem; and for Molech the Abomination of the Children of Ammon; and likewise did he for all his strange Wives, which burnt Incense and sacrificed unto their Gods.*

THUS was the Worship of all or most of the neighbouring Idols seen in *Israel*, as an Earnest of the King's Affection for his Wives. *Molech* or *Milcom*, *Ashtoreth* and *Chemosh*, are particularly named. *Molech* or *Moloch* seems to be a general Title, as that of *Baal*, given to the chief Deity of *Palestine*; and to have been more especially had in Veneration and Esteem by the *Ammonites*, who were so eminently attach'd to his Worship, that we know of no other Idol they had. The Word *Molech* has the same Signification as *Baal*; as that expresses *Lord*, so does this *King*. And that they do both of them denote one and the same Deity, is plain from *Jeremiah* †, *They built the high Places of Baal which are in the Valley of the Son of Hinnom, to cause their Sons and*

* *Ver.* 7, 8.

† *Jer.* xxxii. 35.

their Daughters to pass thro' the Fire unto Molech. And Mr. Selden has given us the Inscription of a Palmyrene Marble in the Farnese Gardens, with both their Names join'd together, in the Word *Μαλαχέλης*, by which (says he) * may not Moloch be understood, who is also called Baal? And as Molech was the same with Baal, so likewise was he with Milcom; or rather, they are both of them the same Word, only differently pointed.

AND as we have seen, the Title of Baal was compounded and given to their Deitys, so likewise was that of Molech. We find the Addition of *Addir* and *Ana* given him, to denote the Gods which the *Sepharvaites* † brought with them out of Syria. *Addir* signifying mighty or magnificent, makes *Adramalech* the same as mighty Molech; so the *Philistines* speak of ‡ mighty Gods: and *Ana* signifying to answer, makes *Anamelech* the same as oracular Molech; just as *Jupiter* by the Romans was called *Jupiter Oracularis*. And so likewise the Tyrians had an Idol compounded of Molech, which they call'd *Melcarthus*, taken from the two Phœnician Words, *Melec*

* Synt. ii. c. 1.

† 2 Kings. xvii. 31.

‡ 1 Sam. iv. 8.

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and *Kertha*, which signify *Lord of the City*. *Herodotus* tells us * his Temple was built at the same Time with the City, enrich'd with so many Donations, and in so great Fame, that he himself went thither to visit it.

IT is probable the *Ammonites* had some King whom they deified under this Title, for we find the Word *Melcom*, in the Prophecys address'd to them by *Jeremiah* and *Amos*, used so, as it may very well be interpreted either of their King or Idol, for the Word signifies both. Thus *Jeremiah* † foretelling the Captivity of the *Ammonites* says, *Why then doth their King inherit Gad? Their King shall go into Captivity, and his Priests, and his Princes together*, as it is in our Translation. But *Theodoret*, *Castalio*, *Drusius*, and *Grotius*, retain the Word *Melcom*, as the Name of the chief Deity of that Country, who might properly enough be said by the Prophet to share in the Prosperity or Calamity of his Worshippers. And *Amos* ‡ likewise prophesying against the Children of *Ammon*, says, *their King shall go into Captivity, he and his Princes together*,

* L. ii.

† Chap. xlix. 1, 3.

‡ Chap. i. 15.

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saieth the Lord. Drusus, and Grotius, retain the Name of their Idol; and the LXX add, as in the Place of *Jer. ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτῶν*, meaning *their Priests* who attended upon the Service of that God. And 2 Sam. xii. 33. and 1 Chron. xx. 2. do, I think, plainly shew that we are sometimes to understand the Word of the *Idol*, and not of the *King*; for *David* is there said to have taken their King's Crown from off his Head, the Weight whereof was a Talent of Gold, with the precious Stones: for that we ought here to translate the Word their Idol *Milcom*, and not their *King*, is plain, from its being impossible for their King to have worn a Crown of such a Weight, as of a *Talent*, or a hundred and fourteen Pounds of our Weight; tho it might very well suit with such enormous Statues as they sometimes made of their Gods. And tho this *Crown* is said to have been set on David's Head, we may understand the Words *over his Head*; that is, It was hung like a Canopy of state over his Throne; or, if you will, we may render the Words with Mr. Selden *, *fecitq; sibi inde Diadema*; or with Munster, *ordinataq; est pro Capite David*; that is, he made himself a Crown out of it.

* Titles of Honour, Part. i. c. viii. § 2.

As to the Manner of the *Ammonites* representing this Deity, it is not agreed. *Rabbi Benjamine* in his Itinerary says, that at *Gebal*, which was, as the Name implies, a frontier Town (it belong'd to the *Ammonites*, and is mention'd *Pf. lxxxiii. 7.*) he found an antient Temple, with the Idol, which People formerly worship'd, in it; that it was of Stone cover'd with Gold, set on a Throne, with the Statue of a Woman on each side in like Manner on a Throne, and before it an Altar. It has been conjectur'd that this Idol had nothing extraordinary in the Shape or Make of it, from this Author's saying no more about it; and from thence it has been concluded to be no other than one of those rude Stones, which, as we have seen elsewhere, the Heathens very antiently worship'd as Representations of the Gods, and that the *Ammonites* ador'd such for *Moloch*. But the Figures which the *Rabbis* give us of his Statues, are very different. Such of them as suppose them to have been of Brass, with Arms extended reaching towards the Ground, so that when they put a Victim within the Arms, it immediately fell into a Fire, which was lighted at the Foot of the Statue; make it very much to resemble the Idol, which *Diodorus* tells

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us *, the *Carthaginians* offer'd their Children to. Others of them, who relate that it was hollow, and contriv'd so as to have the Offering received within it, describe it as like to that, which *Ludovicus Vives* says †, the *Americans* ador'd with human Sacrifices. But the *Rabbis* are all of them agreed, that the Effigies of this God had the Head, or, at least, the Face of a Calf; tho it is plain, from what I have just mention'd, and which is all that we can be certain of, that the *Ammonites* represented him under a humane Figure, with a Crown on his Head.

THERE is great Probability that the *Israelites* were much addicted to the Worship of *Moloch*, even from their coming out of *Egypt*. They are reproach'd with it, as we have seen, both by the Prophet *Amos* ‡ and *St. Stephen* ||. But whatsoever his Worship was, we know little of it, more than that they dedicated and sacrificed their Children to him, which I shall say nothing of here; for I do not think that his Worship could be got to

* L. xx. c. 1.

† Notes on *St. Augustin*, de Civit. Dei. l. vii. c. 19.

‡ Chap. v. 26.

|| Acts. vii. 43.

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that Height, before *Solomon*, on his Repentance, reform'd the State, and I shall have a more convenient Place to take Notice of those Impiety's. And as to the Relation which this Deity, who was the chief of their Gods, bore to the *Sun*, I have already taken notice of it, so shall say no more of him, but pass to

ASHTEROTH, whom we have already seen to be the same with most of their Goddesses and the *Moon*. The Worship of the *Sun* and *Moon* seems to have been equally regarded, and generally joyn'd together all over the East. Their Idols are set up together by *Solomon*; and we generally find *Molech's* or *Baal's* Temples in *Ashteroth's* or *Astarte's* Groves: and while they offer'd to him human Sacrifices, they abandon'd themselves to all sorts of Incontinence in Honour of her. But in *Solomon's* Time, they might, I believe, content themselves with presenting * her Perfumes, Cakes, and Libations.

I HAVE already mention'd her being *Lucian's Dea Syria*. He tells us, that in her Temple there was an annual Commemoration of a Flood; intimating there-

* Jer. vii. 18. and xlv. 17.

by that this Goddess was one of those, who with *Noah*, shar'd in that signal Escape. Hence, it may be, the *Greeks*, as *Sancho-niatho* tells us, call'd her *Aphrodite*, and *Ovid*,

Venus orta Mari.

THIS Deity was represented under the Figure of a *Fish*, which was a very proper Description of her; not only on Account of her having escap'd the Flood, but for being suppos'd to be of both Sexes, and worship'd as the common Parent of many Nations. For there is little Appearance of any difference of Sex in Fish; neither is there, as Naturalists tell us, either Bird or Beast, that is any thing equal to them in Fruitfulness, and consequently none so proper an Emblem of the Parent of so vast a Progeny. The *Persians*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cretans*, and *Egyptians*, did all of them worship her under this Form, as well as the *Philistines*. In the Opinion of some, says * *Lucian*, " *Astarte's Temple at Hierapolis,*
" *was dedicated to Derceto, whose Image I*
" *saw in Phœnicia of a very strange Shape,*
" *for in the upper Part she resembles a*

* *Dea Syria.*

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"*Woman; but from the Thighs downwards a Fish.*" Much after the same Manner did the *Philistines* represent her: They call'd her *Dagon*; from *Dag, a Fish*, and had her in such great Request, that at *Gaza* her Temple was so magnificent and large, that the *Roof* of it contained * *about three thousand Men and Women that beheld while Sampson made Sport.* They built her another Temple at *Ashdod*, into which the Ark of the Lord was carried when they took it. † *And when they of Ashdod arose early on the Morrow, behold Dagon was fallen on his Face to the Earth, before the Ark of the Lord: and they took Dagon and set him in his Place again. And when they arose early on the morrow Morning, behold Dagon was fallen upon his Face to the Ground, before the Ark of the Lord; and the Head of Dagon, and both the Palms of his Hands were cut off upon the Threshold, only the Stump of Dagon was left to him.*

THE *Jewish* Doctors differ very much in the Descriptions they give us of this Idol; some of them, with *Kimchi*, re-

* *Judg. xvi. 27.*

† *1 Sam. v. 3, 4.*

present it from the Thighs downwards a Fish, and all above of humane Shape:

*Definit in Piscem Mulier formosa superne *.*

OTHERS, with *Abarbanel*, from the Thighs downwards humane, and all above a Fish; and *Jarchi* and others, all of him a Fish. This is certain from the Scripture, that the Statue of *Dagon* was represented in a human Figure, at least the upper Part of it; it had a Head and two Hands, to which the LXX add Feet, which they separate with the Head and the Hands from the Trunk; and by the *Stump* which was left to him, is probably meant, as it is in the Margin of our Bibles, his *fishy Part*; for *Kimchi* and others translate the Words, *only the fishy Part was left*; and *Junius*, *only so much as resembled the Fish remained of him*. It may be, they shap'd this Idol like the Egyptian Deity we meet with on a Coin † of the City of *Menelaus*, represented like a Woman to her Waste, holding a Horn of Plenty in her Hand, and the Tail of a Fish turn'd up behind, with Feet like the Crocodile or Sea-Calf. And every Pro-

* Hor. de Art. Poet.

† Vaillant Hist. Ptolem. p. 210.

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vince, nay City, describ'd her after their own Manner. The *Tyrian* Medals struck in Honour of *Demetrius II.* King of *Syria* *, represent her with a *Cross* † in her Hand; on one struck at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* ‡, she has a Man's Head in her right Hand, suppos'd to be the Head which annually travell'd from *Egypt* to *Byblos*. Some took the Mark of one of her Qualitys or Characters, others of another, according to the Humour and Caprice of her Votarys. But this is observable, that all their old Coins and Statues agree in pourtraiting her with the same Features, Air and Gracefulness, as we see in that celebrated Statue of *Venus* of *Medicis*; as they all of them likewise agree in pourtraiting the eldest *Jupiter*: which would make one suppose, if there was any Credit to be given to Conjectures, that we have on your old Coins and Statues, the Features and Lineaments of *Ham* and *Naamah*, or whosoever they were,

* Vaillant Hist. Reg. Syr. p. 272, 273.

† The Cross is very frequently found in their *Egyptian* Hieroglyphicks, made in different Shapes and Manners: It denoted, it may be, *Life eternal*, or *the Life to come*, as you may see in *Pyramidographia* of Mr. Greaves, *Ruffinus* l. ii. c. 29. *Socrat. Hist. Eccl.* l. v. c. 17. and *Soz. Hist. Eccl.* l. vii. c. 15. Upon the finding of this out, as you may there read, many of the Heathens were converted to Christianity.

‡ Montfaucon, *Antiquity* explain'd.

who

who first gave Rise to those two great Deitys. And there is the more Room for such a Guess from what we are expressly told by *Plato* *, that 'twas a Rule amongst the Statuaries to imitate the antique Pattern, they being restrain'd by Law from attempting any thing which look'd like Innovation.

FROM their representing this Deity under the Form of a *Fish*, it was, as Mr. *Pope* observes from *Plutarch*, that among the *Egyptians*, *Syrians* and *Greeks*, to abstain from *Fish*, was esteemed a Piece of Sanctity: And therefore 'tis, that we have not the least Intimation that the *Greeks*, tho they were encamp'd, during the *Trojan War*, upon the *Hellepont*, ever eat any *Fish*; and that the Companions of *Ulysses* † never sought for *Fish* till all their other Provisions were consum'd; and that the same Necessity compell'd them to eat the Herds of the Sun; and that *Menelaus* complains Hunger was so violent among his companions, that they were compell'd to eat *Fish*. And for the *Syrians*, *Tully* ‡ and *Xenophon* || do both of them affirm,

* De Legibus, l. ii. p. 789.

† Odyss. l. xii.

‡ De Nat. Deor. l. iii.

|| De Exped. Cyri, l. i.

that

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that they worship'd Fish; and *Lucian* says *, that "They esteem'd Fish very much, as thinking them sacred, and therefore never eat any:" And that adjacent to the Temple at Hierapolis, "there was a Lake, wherein there were many sacred Fish kept, some of the largest of which had Names given them, and would come to you when called; one of which he took particular Notice of, as having on golden Fins." *Diodorus* gives us the same Account: "There is a City in Syria, says he, called *Ascalon*" (which was a famous City of Judea in the Tribe of Dan) "near which is a deep Lake abounding with Fish, where not far off stands a Temple dedicated to a famous Goddess called by the Syrians, *Derceto*, representing a Woman in her Face, and a Fish in all other Parts of her Body. — Whence it came to pass, that at this very Day the Syrians eat no Fish, but adore them as Gods." And *Artemidorus* says † of the People of Syria, that all of them, except it be those who worship *Astarte*, eat Fish. I suppose those Tyrians mentioned by *Nehemiah* ‡ were not in the

* Dea Syria.

|| L. ii. c. 1.

† Oneirocritic. l. i. c. 9.

‡ xliii. 16.

Number of her Votarys, *who brought Fish and all Manner of Wares, and sold on the Sabbath unto the Children of Judah and in Jerusalem: for if they had pay'd Honours to Fishes, we should not have found them selling them in the Jewish Markets.* It was, I make no doubt, from these Peoples having such an Opinion of *Fishes*, that we find God, where the *Israelites* are so particularly caution'd against the Neighbouring Idolatrys, telling them that they were to * *take heed lest they made themselves a graven Image, the Likeness of any Fish that is in the Waters.*

AND as *Fish*, so likewise were *Pidgeons* sacred to her. *Lucian* † speaking of this Goddess says, “ that Doves as well as Fish
“ were consecrated to her:” and again,
“ Of all Birds, they, that is the *Syrians*,
“ think the Dove to be most holy; so that
“ they count it very unlawful so much as
“ to handle them; and if by chance they
“ touch them, they esteem themselves
“ as unclean that whole Day: for which
“ Reason you may see them frequently
“ live in their Houses, conversing familiarly with them, and feeding generally on the Ground, but without

* Deut. iv. 16, &c.

† Dea Syria.

“ any

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"any Fear." *Philo* tells us * the same Thing of the Inhabitants of *Ascalon*, and *Tibullus*,

Alba Palæstino jancta Columba Syro †.

WE meet with several Reasons for the dedicating of this Bird to *Venus* in *Chartarius* †. 'Twas sacred likewise to *Semiramis*, who seems to me to have been Daughter to, tho some have consider'd her as the same with, the *Asiatick Venus*. The People of *Ascalon*, as *Diodorus* || tells us at large from *Ctesias*, believed that " *Semiramis* had been expos'd, when an Infant; and preserv'd and nourish'd, in a very wonderful Manner, by a Flock of Pidgeons, which the *Syrians* ever after ador'd for Goddesses." But the more general Opinion of her seems to be, that, as *Lucian* ** tells us, *She was at last transform'd into a Dove*; which is agreeable to what *Diodorus* elsewhere asserts ††, that, " there are some who say that she was metamorphos'd into a Pidgeon; and that she flew away with a Flock of those Birds

* Apud Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. viii. c. 14.

† El. vii. c. 18.

‡ P. 341.

|| L. ii. c. 1.

** Dea Syria.

†† L. ii. c. 2.

" which

“ which lighted upon her Palace; and
 “ that hence it was that the *Affyrians* a-
 “ dor’d *Doves*, believing that *Semiramis* was
 “ enthron’d amongst the Gods.” And ’tis
 not improbable that such as believed this
 Fable should, upon this Account, pay di-
 vine Adoration to these Birds; as Mr.
Voltaire tell us * there are few *Muscovites*
 who will venture to eat a Pidgeon, because
 the *Holy Ghost* is painted in Form of a
 Dove.

I HAVE had Occasion before to speak
 of *Astheroth*’s great Love for her Husband
Thammuz or *Adonis*, and what a principal
 Part of their Religion, her bewailing his
 untimely End made; and of some other
 Parts of her Worship, so shall say no more
 of her here.

THE other Deity mentioned in this
 Account of *Solomon*’s Idolatry, is *Chemosh*.
 The Resemblance in the *Hebrew* between
 his Name and *Ammon*’s, and the LXX
 translating him by *Xαμὸς*, has made some
 think him the same with that *Egyptian*
 God. And they who derive his Name
 from an *Arabick* Word, which signifies
 to *hasten*, make it agree very well with

* History of the King of Sweden, p. 24.

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the *Sun*, (whose precipitate Course might procure it a Name signifying *swift* or *speedy*) which he, and indeed most of the other heathen Deitys, had such Relation to: But the Worship which was paid *Che-mosh* seems to be very different from that of *Ammon*: The former was, as appears from the Place before us, ordinarily worship'd, like the other, on high Places; but we no where read that he had humane Sacrifices offered to him, which we shall hereafter see were common amongst the other Votarys. And as for the Resemblance of the Names, 'tis the most slender Foundation for Proof. St. *Jerome* * and the Generality of Interpreters, make him to differ in nothing but the Name from *Baal-Peor*, whom we have already spoken of. It may be he was the same as *Comus*, whose Image is given us by *Philostratus*, and whom the *Greek* Writers make the same as *Dionysus*, and who presided over Revelling, Debauchery and immodest Pleasures; or with *Apollo Comæus*, who is taken Notice of by several Authors refer'd to by *Gyraldus* †, and was worship'd in many of the Eastern Provinces. It is certain, this Idol was particularly ador'd

* On Is. xv. 2.

† Synt. vij.

under the Name of *Chemosh*, by the *Moabites*, as appears not only from the Place before us, but from *Numb. xxi. 29. Judg. xi. 24. Jer. xlviii. 7, 13.* and it is not improbable that there might have been some Prince, from whom a great many of that People were descended, who had been deified by them (under this Title:) and this Supposition will explain those Words in the *Israelites* Song, *Num. xxi. 29.* more fully than if we suppose him to have been only their Deity. The *Moabites* are there said to be *the Sons and Daughters of Chemosh*; which they certainly were in a very emphatical Manner, if they were not only under his Protection as their God, but a great Part of them descended from him.

BUT let us see how God dealt with *Solomon* for this Idolatry. We have before seen him sending his Prophets to reprove, and the heathen Nations executing his Vengeance upon his People, for the like Transgression of his Law. But here was a Prince, who had been belov'd, favour'd and dignified by him; who had built him a Temple, fallen into the most enormous Wickedness, and building Temples for his Wives Idols. He made therefore a Revelation of himself to him. He appeared to him; not as he had before, to

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approve his Behaviour; but as terribly now, as he had twice before kindly, and assur'd him how fatal his Apostasy should be to him and his Posterity. He pronounced his Doom, that *forasmuch* as he had not *kept the Covenant and the Statutes which he had commanded him*, he would *surely rend the Kingdom from him, and give it unto his Servant* *. As Solomon's Splendor was to be eclips'd for his Punishment, those who had followed his Example, and join'd with him in his Offence, were to be corrected in the Distraction of the Government. The Prophet *Abijah* found *Jeroboam*, and inform'd him that God would *rend the Kingdom out of the Hand of Solomon, and give ten Tribes to* † him. Accordingly *Solomon* was no sooner dead, than the *Israelites* assembled at *Schechem* to crown *Rehoboam*, and with *Jeroboam* at their Head, petition'd to have their Grievances redressed. But he, by the Advice of young ‡ Counsellors, giving them a sharp Answer, ten of the Tribes revolted from him, and made *Jeroboam* their King. Thus was God's People divided into two Kingdoms, that of *Judah*, and that of *Israel*.

* 1 Kings xi. 11

† Ver. 31.

‡ 1 Kings xii.



C H A P. II.

The Idolatrys which the Kingdom of Israel fell into. Jeroboam's Calves. The Sidonian Baal. Baal-Zebub.

JEROBOAM, being made King, in Opposition to the House of *David*, over ten of the Tribes, consider'd how he might keep his new Subjects to their Allegiance: *He said in his Heart **, *If the People go up to do their Sacrifice in the House of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the Heart of this People turn again unto their Lord, even unto Rehoboam King of Judah.* He consider'd, that by their going so often up thither on a religious Account, the Splendor and Magnificence of the Place might remind them of the Grandeur to which *David* and *Solomon* had rais'd them, and give *Rehoboam* an Opportunity of drawing them off from his Party.

* 1 Kings xii. 26, 27.

THE civil Defection was soon therefore followed with a spiritual one: He resolv'd to divert his Subjects from going thither to worship, by setting up a new Form of Religion within his Kingdom. He call'd to mind the Inclination which the Generality of the People had on all occasions shewn for the neighbouring Superstition; that their Fathers had been bred up in the Idolatrys of *Egypt*, and after they had been rescued by the visible Hand of God from their Slavery there, forsook his Worship; and even while they were supported by the same miraculous Power in the Wilderness, ador'd the *Egyptian Apis*: and having, it may be, been initiated himself in that Worship, when he took Refuge from *Solomon's* Jealousy at the Court of *Shishak*, he resolv'd, as Reasons of State requir'd, to introduce that Idolatry into his Kingdom, and causing *two golden Calves* to be made, commanded his Subjects to worship them, *as the Gods* which had brought them out of the Land of *Egypt*.

ONE Egg is not more like another, says *Bochart**, than *Jeroboam's Calves*

* Hieroz. part. i. l. ii. c. 34.

were to *Aaron's*. That the *Israelites* made just as they had left *Egypt*, and these were set up by one who was but just come from thence. In order therefore to a right understanding of them and this Idolatry, we must once more have recourse to the Religion of *Egypt*, that *Mother Land of Superstition*.

THE Worship of Animals, we have seen, had been long practis'd there, and made a principal Part of their Religion. Amongst these they had an Ox very particularly mark'd, which they ador'd as the Emblem or Representation of their great God *Osiris*. Their Reason for it was, because they believ'd the Soul of *Osiris* went into such an Ox. *Osiris*, as we have seen, was the Name by which they had deified the Father or Founder of their Kingdom; and the word *Apis*, which was the Name they gave this Ox at *Memphis*, signifies as much, coming plainly from the *Hebrew* word *Ab*, a Father; as *Suidas*, and after him *Vossius* †, has shewn. But tho the *Egyptians* were the first who held the Transmigration of the Soul, it is, I think, a more probable Conjecture, that they chose this Beast to

* De Orig. & Prog. Idol. l. i. c. 29.

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represent *Osiris* for his being the Founder of their Husbandry, as well as the chief Father of their Country; from the Ox affording them such Help and Assistance in plowing their Ground, and carrying in and treading out their Corn. And agreeable to this is the Reason which *Diodorus* gives us for this Animal's being consecrated to *Osiris* *: " This Creature, of " all others, was extraordinarily serviceable to the first Inventors of Husbandry, " both as to the sowing Corn, and other " Advantages concerning Tillage, of " which all reap the Benefit." And the same Reason he gives us again †, where he largely discourses on this Subject.

THERE is not an Author, who has wrote of *Egypt*, but what affords us some Account of this Idol; but they are not agreed about the Marks the Beast was to have which they admitted into their Temples. *Lusian* says ‡, that " he was " born with the Marks of Divinity upon " him." *Plutarch* **, that his Body was to be all black, unless it was a square Spot of White on his Forehead. But the

* L. i. c. 2.

† C. 6.

‡ Of Sacrifices.

** If. & Of.

fullest Account we meet with is in *Herodotus* : he says *, that “ the *Apis* is the Calf
 “ of a Cow past bearing, but who, ac-
 “ cording to the *Egyptians*, is impregnated
 “ by Lightning, whence she has the *Apis*.
 “ The Marks which distinguish him from
 “ all others, are these : His Body is black,
 “ except one Square of White on the
 “ Forehead : He has the Figure of an
 “ Eagle on his Back, a double List of
 “ Hair on his Tail, and a *Scarabæus* un-
 “ der his Tongue.” It was no Difficulty,
 in St. *Austin*’s Opinion †, for them to meet
 with a Calf so marked : “ ’Tis no great
 “ matter for evil Spirits, *says he*, in order
 “ to carry on their Delusion, to place be-
 “ fore the Eyes of a Cow, at the time of
 “ her Conception and Pregnancy, the ima-
 “ ginary Representation of a Bull so mark’d,
 “ to look upon ; by which means those
 “ Marks were impressed on the *Fœtus*
 “ which the Dam had formed in her
 “ Lust. As *Jacob*’s Stratagem was to
 “ procure speckled or straked Sheep and
 “ Goats by the help of his particolour’d
 “ Rods. For what human Nature can
 “ do by the Object of real Bodys and Co-
 “ lours in the Conception of Animals,

* L. iii.

† De Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 5.

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“ that Spirits may most easily effect by
“ false and imaginary ones.”

WHEN they had found an Ox with the proper Marks *, a hundred Priests waited on him with very great Rejoicings to the Temple of *Osiris* at *Memphis*; where there were two *Thalami*, or Bed-Chambers † prepar'd for him, to which the People repair'd for Presages. If he enter'd into one of them, they reckon'd it a good Omen, and to forebode all manner of Happiness to the Publick; but if he went into the other, a bad one, and to portend much Evil. We learn from *Strabo* ‡, *Plutarch* **, and *Suidas*, that when they could not find a Beast with these Marks, they paid Adoration to its Image, which they set up in their Temples. *Plutarch* tells us ** that these Images were made of Gold; and we find *Lucian* *† introducing *Mercury* joking, that the Gods of the *Egyptian* and *Eastern* Nations were made of Gold, but the *Greeks* of Ivory, Wood, or some such base Materials. To which God alludes ‡*: *Ye know how ye have dwelt in*

* Solinus c. xxxv. and *Suidas*.

† Pliny l. viii. c. 46.

‡ L. xvii.

** If. & Os.

*† Jove Tragædo.

‡ Deut. xxix. 16, 17.

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the Land of Egypt—and have seen their Abominations and their Idols, Wood and Stone, Silver and Gold, which were among them. But he forbids their having such: Ye shall not make with me Gods of Silver, neither shall ye make unto you Gods of Gold.*

As at *Memphis*, which was in the upper *Egypt*, they called this Ox *Apis*†; so at *Heliopolis*, which was in the lower, he had the Name of *Mnevis*. But none of the Antients give us the Reason for their dedicating two Oxen to this Deity at the same time; tho it may be suppos'd ‡ that this came from a Schism in their Religion, which might proceed from the religious Necessity they imagined there was for their worshipping a living Ox: and it not suiting the People of two different Kingdoms to appear at the same Place of Worship, the Priests of each Kingdom look'd out for an Ox, and boasted they had found the true *Osiris*,

THE *Israelites*, when they came into the Wilderness, no sooner met with any Difficulty or Hardship, than they called to mind the Happiness and Plenty of E-

* Exod. xx. 23.

† Strabo l. xvii.

‡ Marsham, p. 60.

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gypt, which they attributed to the Idols which were there worshipped. And when *Moses** staid longer with God in the Mount than they expected, they having then receiv'd, says Bishop *Patrick*, no Directions about the Service of God, which was what they were brought out of *Egypt* for, made such a Symbol, or Representation of the Deity as the *Egyptians* had, to conduct them thro' the Wilderness; and chang'd their Glory into the Similitude of an Ox that eateth Hay†. They had not so divested themselves of Humanity and common Sense, with their Religion, as to think that Calf a God; or that the Idol they had just then made, had brought them out of *Egypt* three Months before, and wrought such Miracles for them: no, 'twas the true God they meant to worship; they suppos'd that the divine Virtue resided in their Image, and that it was such a Sign or Symbol of him, as the *Apis* was of the *Egyptian Osiris*. And that was what they meant when they said‡, *These be thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the Land of Egypt*. And the very same Words, in the same Sense, we find made

* *Exod.* xxxii. 1.

† *Psal.* cvi. 20.

‡ *Exod.* xxxii. 4.

use of by Jeroboam*: *It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem, at a great Trouble and Charge, to a People that hate you: Behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the Land of Egypt:* meaning that the true God was every where present, and can no more be confin'd to the Temple at Jerusalem, than to any other Place: If that was consecrated, so were his Calves†; and if they wanted any special Symbols of God's Presence, there they were for them.

AND that Aaron's and Jeroboam's Calves might in every Thing agree with the Egyptian Apis, they made them of Gold, the same Metal with which the Egyptians made the Statues of their Gods; and Aaron fashioned ‡ his with a graving Tool, after he had made it a molten Calf, i. e. He gave it all those particular Marks, which were the distinguishing Characteristick of the Egyptian Apis.

* 1 Kings xii. 28.

† This Representation being call'd in Exodus Egel, a Calf, does not at all hinder its being the same with that Egyptian Ox: For tho the Word us'd in the Hebrew, like the Greek $\mu\omicron\sigma\chi$, may denote a Calf, yet we find the same Word us'd in Scripture for an Ox, as Psal. cvi. 20. and Herodotus often styles the Ox, Apis, $\mu\omicron\sigma\chi$ ov, the Calf.

‡ Exod. xxxii. 4.

AFTER this the People received those Idols with the same Joy and Acclamations as the *Egyptians* shew'd at the Appearance of their God. As *Suidas* tells us of them, that in honour of their *Apis*, πανδαίσταν, *Convivium agebant*; so they proclaim'd a Feast*, and rose early in the Morning to express their Devotion by Musick, Dancing, and the like Tokens of Mirth; they sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play: And therefore, when *Joshua* said unto *Moses*†, *There is a Noise of War in the Camp*; *Moses*, who had been informed by God‡ what the matter was, answers him**, *It is not the Voice of them that shout for Mastery, neither is it the Voice of them that cry for being overcome, but the Noise of those who sing do I hear*; or, as it is in the LXX, ἐξαρχόντων ὄνου, of those who were revelling in this heathenish Entertainment. And in like manner *Jeroboam* had no sooner erected his Calves; than he too, in imitation of this *Egyptian* Worship*†, ordained a Feast to their Honour, that the People might receive them with

* Ver. 5, 6.

† Ver. 17.

‡ Ver. 7.

** Ver. 18.

*† 1 Kings xii. 32.

Mirth and Jollity; the * *Feast of Tabernacles*, which should have been celebrated in the 7th Month at *Jerusalem*, he order'd to be observ'd in the 8th at *Bethel*. And because † *the Priests and Levites had left their Suburbs and their Possessions*, and were gone to *Jerusalem*, detesting the Service of his Impiety, ‡ *He made Priests of the lowest of the People*, i. e. says *Abarbanel*, out of all the People; which is not to be understood || as if they were taken out of the meanest of them, but out of the other Tribes.

IT is to be observ'd, that *Jeroboam* did not erect his *Calves* in *Schechem*, the Capital of his Kingdom; but, as the *Egyptians* were one at *Memphis*, the other at *Heliopolis*, so he set the one in *Bethel*, and the other put he in *Dan*, which were in the two Extremitys of his Kingdom. *Bethel* he made choice of, because it had been long esteem'd as a Place sacred for the real Appearance of God in antient Time to *Jacob* **, and might therefore, he thought, induce the People to a readier

* *Ver.* 32, 33.

† 2 *Chron.* xi. 13, 14.

‡ 1 *Kings* xii. 31.

|| *Bochart, Hieroz. part i. l. ii. c. 34.*

** *Gen.* xxviii. 19.

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Belief of the Residence of the same Divinity in his *Calf*; and *Dan*, because there had, for a long time, been a very great Resort thither to *Micah's Tera- phim* *.

WE find throughout the whole Scripture, the strongest Terms of Reproach given to this Idolatry. The Idols are called *Devils* †. The LXX, the old *Italian* Version, *Josephus* ‡, and *Tobit* ||, by way of Indignity, speak of these Calves in the Feminine Gender. And *Hosea*, on their Account, calls *Bethel* **, which signifies *the House of God*, *Bethaven*, i.e. *the House of Wickedness, or Idolatry*; and calls their *Priests*, *Chemarim*, i.e. *Sacrificuli*; and to shew his Contempt of them, makes use likewise of the Feminine Gender. This manner of Expression is common amongst the Poets,

'Αχαίδες, ἐν ἑρ' Ἀχαιοί. *Iliad* ii.

And *Virgil*,

O verè Phrygiæ neq; enim Phryges.
Æn. ix. v. 617.

* Judg. xviii. 30.

† 2 Chron. xi. 15.

‡ L. viii. c. 3.

|| Tob. i. 5.

** Hof. x. 5, 8.

THE Wrath of God was immediately executed upon the principal Ringleaders in *Aaron's Idolatry*, by the *Levites*, who, at the Command of *Moses* *, put three thousand of them to Death; and a Pestilence † was sent to sweep away such as escap'd their Sword. After which God finish'd the giving of the *Levitical Law*, and made such a Provision against Idolatry in general, and this Species of it in particular, as should, it might have been thought, have prevented the People's falling into the same again.

BUT *Jeroboam's* preferring Reasons of State before the Concerns of Religion, made it necessary, as we have seen, for the divine Providence to rebuke it once more. The sending a Prophet from *Judah*, was thought sufficient, who, while *Jeroboam, the Idol Shepherd* ‡, was personating the High-Priest at *Bethel*, and burning Incense on the Feast he had instituted, *in the midst of the People and bearing of the King*, foretold the Judgments which should be one Day executed on

* Exod. xxxii. 27, 28.

† Ver. 35.

‡ Zech. xi. 17.

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that Altar and its Priests. This he confirm'd by Signs and Wonders in the presence of them all. The very *Altar is rent* * at the Word of the Prophet, and *the Ashes poured out from it*. But *Jero-boam*, instead of bowing his Knees for Humiliation, stretched out his Hands for Revenge, *saying †, lay hold on him*. And *his Hand, which in his Rage he put forth, dried up, so that he could not pull it in again*. This could not but work a Change in him. He who just now threatned the Prophet, humbly supplicates a Cure from the Hand which gave the Wound; and a new Miracle is immediately wrought for his Relief. But this only restor'd the King to the use of his Arm, not him or his People to a sense of their Sin, for he dyed at last in this Idolatry, as did all the Kings of *Israel* after him; which brought a Flood of Miserys and unheard of Calamitys upon them and that Kingdom, and was, with the other Idolatrys they fell into, the Source of all the Misfortunes that People were afterwards afflicted with.

* 1 Kings xiii. 5.

† Ver. 4.

BUT

BUT let us see what those other Idolatrys were. *Abab* was the first who added strange Worship to that of the two *Calves*. He exceeded in Wickedness all who went before him; not only imitated the worst of his Predecessors, in the very worst of their Actions, but * did very abominably in following Idols, according to all Things, as did the Amorites; and having married the idolatrous *Jezabel*, Daughter of *Ethbaal*, or *Ithobal*, as he is called by profane Authors, King of the *Zidonians*, out of Complaisance to her, who was an imperious as well as wicked Woman, added the Worship and Service of her Country Gods. The Character *Josephus* gives us of her, is, that
 “ She was a Woman of a rash, enter-
 “ prizing Humour; and of so impetuous
 “ and ungovernable a Spirit, that she
 “ had the Confidence to erect a Temple
 “ to *Baal*, the God of the *Tyrians*; to
 “ plant Groves for Superstition, of all
 “ sorts of Trees, and to appoint her
 “ Priests and false Prophets expressly for
 “ that idolatrous Service.”

THE *Tyrian* or *Sidonian Baal*, whose Worship she introduced, was the same

* 1 Kings xxi. 26.

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with the *Marine Jupiter* of the *Greeks*, who has a great deal said of him in *Hesychius*, *Phavorinus* and *Suidas*. *Theodoret* calls him * σωτήρα και ἀλεξίκακον. *Strabo* gives him the same Title of ἀλεξίκακος, *Malorum Depulſor*; and as ſuch, *Jezebel* thought him a proper Support for *Abab's* declining Affairs; ſhe therefore made him build a Temple to him at his royal City *Samaria*, ſet up an Altar in it for his Sacrifices, and provide him 450 Prophets, or Priests, to officiate at it. Adjoyning to this Temple ſhe had a Grove, for the Worſhip of *Aſtarte*, and four hundred Priests belonging to it, who were in ſuch high Eſteem with her, that, to induce the People to do them the more Honour, they eat at her Table †.

T H E R E is room to conjecture that *Jezebel's Baal* was the ſame God that our Anceſtors ador'd as the *All-bealing Deity*, and to whom the *Druids*, who were not unacquainted with *Greek*, gave the ſame Title of ἀλεξίκακος, and dedicated Altars to, with ſuch Inſcriptions as we meet with in *Selden* ‡, ΒΕΛΙΝΩ ΤΩ ΠΑΝΑΚΕΙ, &c. 'Tis not improbable that they ſhould be

* De curandis Græc. affect. Ser. viii.

† 1 Kings xviii. 19.

‡ See his Notes on *Drayton's Polyolbion*, Song 9.

acquainted with this *Phœnician* Deity, when we consider the great Traffick the *Tyrian* and *Sidonian* Merchants drove with this Island for Tin.

WHEN Wickedness and Idolatry had thus overspread the Land, God shewed his Goodness in sending his Prophet *Elijah*; a seasonable Reformer, when Times were come to the worst. The miraculous Power, which attended him, should, one would have thought, have added such a Force to his Preaching, as would have turn'd the most devoted People from their Impietys. At his Prayer neither *Dew* nor *Rain* fell for *three Years and six Months* *; but having reprov'd *Abab*, and by Fire from Heaven convinc'd the People, that *the Lord he is God*, who immediately, at his Command, put to Death four hundred and fifty of *Baal's* Prophets, by Prayer he obtain'd Rain enough †. And 'tis to be observ'd, that *Menander*, a heathen Historian, “ who turned the “ *Tyrian Annals* out of the *Philistin* into “ *Greek* ‡,” recorded this Drought in his Account of *Ethbaal* King of *Tyre*: “ In “ his Time, says he, there was an ex-

* Luke iv. 25. and Jam. v. 17.

† 1 Kings xviii.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 2.

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“treme Drought for want of Rain, which
 “lasted from the Month of *Hyperbere-*
 “*tæus*, till the same Month again next
 “Year. There were Prayers, indeed,
 “put up for the averting of the Judg-
 “ment, which were follow'd by mighty
 “Claps of Thunder.” This, as *Jose-*
phus observes *, “was undoubtedly the
 “Drought under *Ahab*, for it was in his
 “Reign that *Ethbaal* was King of *Tyre*,
 “as *Menander* has it in his *Commen-*
 “tarys.”

BUT there was no such happy Effect
 attended *Elijah* as might have been ex-
 pected: a general Prevalency of all those
 Abominations, which had incens'd God
 against the *Canaanites*, continued amongst
 the People; and *Ahab*, their King, dyed
 in his Sins, and *the Dogs lick'd his Blood* †,
 agreeably to *Elijah's* and *Micaiah's* Pro-
 phecys ‡.

AHAB was succeeded by his Son
Abaziah, who was a very wicked Man,
 and not only continued the Idolatry of
Jeroboam, but the Worship of all those

* Apud *Joseph. ibid. c. 7.*

† 1 Kings xxii. 38.

‡ *Ver. 17, &c.*

strange Gods with which his Father and Mother had corrupted *Samaria*; and being ill of a Fall, he sent to consult * *Baal-Zebub*,

* It may not, perhaps, be unentertaining to see the State of Physick in these antient Times. We see here *Abaziah* being sick, sends not for a Physician, but to consult the Oracle of *Baal-Zebub*; as *Jeroboam* sent his Wife to the Prophet (1 *Kings* xiv. 2, &c.) when his Son was indispos'd; and as *Naaman* (2 *Kings* v.) the Syrian went himself, and *Benhadad* sent *Hazael* to consult *Elisha* (2 *Kings* viii. 8.) concerning his Sickness. They advis'd in those Times with their Priests, Prophets, and Augurs, as we now do with our Physicians, and expected to be restor'd to Health by some Charm, or the Art of Vaticination, not by any natural Means or Remedy. The same was practis'd likewise by the *Greeks*, as appears by the Speech of *Achilles* to the Generals on the breaking out of the Plague.

*Strait let some Prophet, or some Sacred Sage,
Explore the Cause of great Apollo's Rage;
Or learn the wrathful Vengeance to remove
By mystic Dreams; for Dreams descend from Jove.* Il. i.

Apollo was the Deity the *Greeks* resorted to upon these Occasions. *Diodorus* tells us, (l. v. c. 4.) that he "discover'd the Art of Physick, which is practis'd by Revelation from him, by which the Sick heretofore were commonly restor'd to Health." *Celsus*, (l. i.) has observ'd, that *Homer* takes notice of no Disease his Heroes were troubled with, but what was immediately inflicted by Heaven. He supposes, that Exercise and Temperance preserv'd them from all besides. I rather imagine, that *Homer* thought it beneath their Dignity to be sick or indispos'd, when engag'd in so warlike and noble an Expedition. He paints them more divine than that comes to. If they are wounded, 'tis no more than their Gods are too. But at the same time it must be acknowledg'd, that there might not in the first Ages be much Occasion for a Science, which is now so necessary to the Health and Happiness of Mankind. The Simplicity of Men's Manners, and the

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active and temperate Lives they then led, naturally tended to the procuring of Health. And besides, the Powers of human Nature not being then prejudic'd by Luxury and Intemperance, afforded them a greater Share of Health than we now enjoy; as we find they liv'd longer Lives, which was no more than the natural Consequence of Health. This was the Reason a Science was no sooner devis'd, which is justly esteem'd so beneficial.

*The first Physicians by Debauch were made,
Excess began, and Sloth sustains the Trade, &c.*

Mr. Dryden.

As the Evil appear'd, Men look'd out for a Remedy, which could not but be gratefully receiv'd by a benefited People. Botany was first hit upon, as appears from the Storys of *Medea*, *Circe*, &c. We often find mention in the most antient Writers (See Mr. Pope on *Il. xi. v. 696.*) of Women eminent in that Art; as of *Polydamne*, (*Odyss. iv.*) and of *Agamede*, (*Il. xi.*) who is said (like *Solomon*) to have known the Virtue of every Plant. I am inclin'd to think that it was brought very early into great Esteem and Practice; and that several very surprizing Effects being produc'd by a Skill in Herbs and Plants, the Generality of the People attributed them to Charms and Incantations; and that from thence came the Resort to Priests, Prophets, and Charmers, for the Cure of Diseases. And this agrees very well with the Characters of *Medea* (*Palæphatus 44.*) and *Circe*, (*Bochart Geog. Sac. l. i. c. 33.*) they being equally famous for their Skill in the nature of Herbs, and for Sorcery or Witchcraft. So *Melampus* has the Character partly of a Botanist, partly of a Prophet. He indeed is said to have been the Inventor of *Purgatives*, (*Apollod. l. ii. p. 85.*) and is call'd *the Purger*, (*Servius Georg. l. iii. v. 550.*) However, it is intimated that the Purgations (*Ibid.*) invented by him were no other than religious Purifications. And it is certain, that the Cure of Madness, which was what made him famous as a Physician, was, at that time, attributed to the Performance of some religious Rite or Lustration; as is plain, not only from the Storys of *Hercules*, *Alcæon*, *Orestes*, &c. but from the manner of his curing *Prætus's* Daughters, which was by Charms, and causing them to bath in the *Clitorian* Fountain. (*Ovid. Metam. l. xv.*)

And

And from hence, it may be, *Φαρμακεία*, came to signify as well the Art of Medicine, as the Professing of Sorcery and Witchcraft; and *Καθάρυς* to be us'd (See Bayle, Art. Melampus, Remark G.) to signify not only a purgative Medicine, but also what we call an Exorcism, or rather a Form of magical Words.

But about Homer's Time, we meet, in holy Writ, (2 Chron. xvi. 12.) with *Asa* sending to consult a Physician. This was condemn'd in him as an Impiety, as it very well might, if a heathen Priest or Charmer was that Physician. Tho, perhaps, the Physician he sent to, was what we should now call a Surgeon. His Indisposition, we are told, was a Disease in his Feet; (Ibid.) having the Gout, it was proper enough for him to send for one, who profess'd a Knowledge in outward Applications. His Profession might probably be the same with that of *Machaon* and *Podalirius* in Homer, who practis'd Surgery, not Physick, tho they have the honourable Title of Physicians given them. Their Skill did not exceed that of their Father *Æsculapius*, who gain'd his great Reputation by Curing *Hippolytus*, who was very much wounded by the dashing in Pieces of his Chariot; or of his Master *Chiron*, (Galen's Introduct. and Pliny, l. vii. c. 46. and Hygin. c. 27.) whose name shews him to have been famous for manual Operations. They were both of them only eminent for their Knowledge in Botany and Surgery. What we find them employ'd about, is the making of Stipticks, using Fomentations, extracting Darts and Arrows, curing of Wounds, &c. Any modern Physician would tell you, they could not know much of their Science, who could allow, as they did, (ll. xi.) ground Cheese and Meal steep'd in Wine to be given to a wounded Man. And accordingly, Pliny tells us, (Nat. Hist. l. xxix. c. 1.) that it was Surgery, not Physick, which was practis'd in the Trojan Times. In the same sense Homer applies the Word to the Egyptians, who, says he, were all of them Physicians. The State of War we have seen their Country very early in, necessitated them to acquire some Knowledge in the healing of Wounds. However, they are the first Practitioners in Physick which I have met with. Herodotus has given us an Account of that Science as he found it amongst them. "The Art of Physick, says he, (l. ii.) is distributed into several distinct Parts, and every Physician applies himself wholly to the Cure of one Disease only, no Man ever pretending to more. By which means all

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Zebub, the God of Ekron †, concerning his Recovery.

IT is upon this occasion only that we meet with this Deity in the Old Testament, who is several times mentioned in the New, where he has the Title of ‡ *the Prince of the Devils*, given him.

THERE are different Conjectures and Opinions amongst learned Men concerning him. All that we know of him for certain is from the Place before us; that he was a *Philistine* Deity, and had a celebrated Temple and Oracle at *Ekron*.

THE Commentators give us no Reason for his being call'd, in our Saviour's

“ Places abound with Physicians; some professing to cure
 “ the Eyes, others the Head, Teeth, or Parts about the
 “ Belly, while others take upon them the Cure of internal
 “ Diseases.” Soon after this *Hippocrates* flourish'd. He
 was a *Coan*, and taught this Science in that Island, and is
 said (*Plin. Nat. Hist.* l. xxix. c. 1.) to have been the first
 who visited sick People, and prescrib'd them Remedys; tho,
 by what Dean *Prideaux* says, (*Part i. l. vi.*) upon his be-
 ing sent for by *Artaxerxes*, that “ many Instances in the
 “ Historys of those Times do acquaint us, how fond the
 “ *Persians* were of Greek Physicians,” one would conclude
 that Physick had an earlier Practice. *Hippocrates*, how-
 ever, has, by his Writings, deservedly acquired the Title of
the Father of the Physicians.

† 2 Kings i. 2.

‡ Mat. xii. 24. Mark iii. 22. and Luke xi. 15.

Time,

Time, *the Prince of Devils*. If I may be allow'd a Conjecture, I should suppose it to be from the *Jews* of that Age taking him to be the same with *Beelsamin*. *Sanchoniatho* tells us, that the Heathens worship'd *the Sun*, whom they thought the only Lord of Heaven, calling him *Beelsamin*, which, in Phœnician, is Lord of Heaven. And those whom the Heathens worship'd as Gods, the *Jews* of later Times, thro' an Opposition to Idolatry, suppos'd to be *fallen Angels*, or *Devils*; and 'twas natural enough for them, to make the chief false Deity, *the Prince of Devils*. And 'tis the Opinion of a great many learned Men *, that this God was called by his Worshipers *Beelsamin*, the God of Heaven; but that the *Jews*, who were scrupulous of calling the heathen Deitys by their proper Appellations, and therefore disfigur'd their Names, call'd him, in derision, *Beelzebul*, the God of Ordure, or *Beelzebub*, the God of a Fly.

BUT Mr. *Selden* thinks †, that he had the latter of these Names given him from the Cure of a contagious Distemper. And upon that Account he might be a

† See Pole's Synop. on Mat. x. 25.

* Synt. ii. c. 6.

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very proper Deity to consult concerning the King's Recovery. He founds his Opinion on a Story in * *Pliny* †, that there being a Pestilence in *Africk*, occasion'd by a Multitude of *Flys*, it was stop'd by sacrificing to the God *Achor*: In *Achore*, says Mr. *Selden*, *vestigia reperis Acaronis; & quæ de muscis dicit, ea Baalzebub ferme sonant.*

OTHERS, from this Deity's being call'd in the New Testament, *the Prince of the Devils*, imagine him not to be the heavenly *Baal*, or *Jupiter*, but *Pluto* the Prince of infernal Spirits. And Mr. *Millar*, from the Resemblance there is between *Ekron*, the Place where he was worship'd, and *Acheron*, the River in Hell, joyns in Opinion with them; and is certainly in the right when he tells us, that the Name of *Baal* being prefix'd to *Zebub*, does not hinder *Pluto* from being meant

* L. x. c. 28.

† Mr. *Selden*, and several others, who have quoted this Passage of *Pliny*, upon his Authority, have mistaken it; the Pestilence was not in *Africk*: the words are, *Elei* (who were a People in the *Peloponnese*) invocant *Myiagron Deum, muscarum multitudine pestilentiam afferente, quæ protinus intereunt quam litatum est ei Deo*; and not as he quotes it, *Cyrenaici Achorem Deum invocant, &c.* Tho it may be he had seen it in some Copy *Achorem*, for in the Notes on this Passage of *Pliny* there is such a Reading as *Myiacorem*, tho it is condemn'd by Father *Harduine*.

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by it, *Baal* being a general Title given to all the Gods, as that of *Jupiter* sometimes was to *Pluto*, as appears from *Hom*-*mer's* calling him * *infernal Jove*, and from that of *Virgil* †.

Thus will I pay my Vows to Stygian Jove.

The same Appellation was given too, as appears from *Æschylus*, to *Neptune*. It is certain the Title of *Baal-Zebub*, Lord of *Flys*, as that of *Serapis*, Prince of *Locusts*, might be properly enough given to *Pluto*: for they are, if we will credit *Pliny*, one of the greatest Plagues of those Coun-
trys, and, as ‡ *Bochart* has shewn from *Herodotus*, *Appian*, and *Strabo*, have forc'd People even to forsake their Habitations: and the Heathens worship'd *Pluto* as the Author of such Calamitys, to keep him from doing them harm.

By *Baal-Zebub*, I am inclin'd to be-
lieve, they meant that *Baal* which was represented by, and worship'd under, the Form of a *Fly*; having, as they conceived, Power over all that Species of hurtful In-
sects. That it was customary with the

* Il. l. ix.

† Æn. l. iv.

‡ Hieroz. part ii. l. iv. c. 13.

Heathens

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Heathens to represent their Deitys by some Creature that was sacred to them, and to put them on their Heads or Hands, intending them as the Hieroglyphicks of their Gods, as to figure *Ammon* with a *Ram's* head, *Isis* with a *Cat's*, *Anubis* with a *Dog's*, &c. is plain from a great number of *Egyptian* Coins, as well as from the Fable of *Isis*; so did they represent this God by a *Fly*. Hence it is we meet with a *Fly* on the Statue * of the Goddess *Diana* of *Ephesus*, as also on an old *Phœnician* Coin †; and that *Clemens Alexand.* ‡ upbraids the *Gentiles* with sacrificing to this Insect at *Actium* in *Acarnania*; and that *Philastrius* tells us ||, it was continued to be worship'd at *Ekron*, till after Christianity appear'd.

I MAKE no doubt, but the *Flys* were commonly worship'd by the old Inhabitants of *Canaan*, who were driven out by the *Israelites*. For as the *Author of the Book of Wisdom* says **, that People were tormented with their own Abomina-

* *Vide* Claud. Menit. Symbolic. Dianæ Ephesiæ Statuam. l. vii. p. 391. Gronov.

† John Ernest. Gerard Analect. ad Mat. xii. 24.

‡ Cohort. ad Gent. i. 2.

|| Hæres. xiii.

** Chap. xii. 23.

tions : and speaking of the Beasts they worship'd, he says *, *by the like were they punish'd worthily.* And again he says †, *But for the foolish Devices of their Wickedness, wherewith being deceived, they worship'd Serpents void of Reason, and vile Beasts, thou didst send a multitude of unreasonable Beasts upon them for Vengeance, that they may know that wherewithal a Man sinneth, by the same also shall he be punished :* God would have them read their Sins in his Judgments, that they might repent of their Sins, and give Glory to his Justice. And therefore the same Author tells us, that he ‡ *did send Wasps, Forerunners of his Host, to destroy them by little and little.* And from our being three times told ||, *that God sent Hornets before his People to drive them out of the Land,* we may conclude that the Deity, on whose Account this Insect had divine Honours paid it, was in very great Esteem, and generally worship'd by the antient Canaanites. And it may be he was no other than that Heathen Hercules, Apollo, or Jupiter, who had the Title of the Fly-Hunter, or the God who

* Chap. xvi. 1.

† Chap. xi. 15, 16.

‡ Chap. xii. 8.

|| Exod. xxiii. 28. Deut. vii. 20. and Josh. xiv. 12.

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caught or *drove away Flies*, whom we find mention'd by *Pausanias*, *Solinus*, *Pliny*, and others *.

And this will clear three Passages in *Homer* from the Cavils of the Criticks, who have been much offended at his likening *Ulysses* †, *Menelaus* ‡, and *Achilles's* || *Myrmidons* to this Insect; a Comparison, say they, by reason of the littleness and insignificancy of the Creature, unworthy to have a Place in Epic Poetry. Our present Ideas of this Animal are indeed very low; but *Homer's* Heroes cannot be diminish'd by a Comparison taken from a Creature which they reverenc'd and ador'd as a God, as this was by them, having been brought into *Greece* by the *Canaanites* who fled from *Joshua*.

THE last publick Action of the Prophet *Elijah*, was the reprovng *Abaziah*. He having call'd for Fire from Heaven, which consum'd two Captains with their Companys, went with the third, who was likewise sent to seize him, and pronounc'd the Sentence of God against him,

* Gyraldus Synt. l. i. Alex. ab Alex. l. i. c. 13.

† Odyss. xvii.

‡ Il. xvii.

|| Il. xvi.

That forasmuch as he had sent to Baal-Zebub, as if there was no God in Israel, he should not come down off that Bed on which he was gone up, but should surely die there.*

BUT notwithstanding these repeated Reproofs of the Prophets, and the miraculous Evidence they gave of the Divinity of their Missions, the Kingdom of *Israel* continued in the Idolatrous Worship of these false Gods; which brought on the Ruin and Destruction of it, and occasion'd that People's being at last carried away by *Shalmaneser* into *Affyria*, and placed in *Halah*, and in *Habor*, by the *River of Gozan*, and in the Citys of the *Medes* †. This was the miserable End of that stiff-necked and perverse People, who would neither regard the several Revelations God made of his Will to prevent their Idolatry, nor hearken to the Threatnings and Admonitions of their Prophets, tho they foretold them that certain Destruction would be the Consequence of their Wickedness; after their Kingdom had subsisted, from its

* 2 Kings i. 16.

† 2 Kings xvii. 6.

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Division from *Judah*, 254 Years, amidst
a continual Scene of tragical Deaths,
Revenge, Civil Wars, and all sorts
of unheard of Misfortunes and Cala-
mitys.

CHAP.



C H A P. III.

The Idolatrys the Kingdom of Judah fell into. Sodomites. Children passing thro' the Fire. The brazen Serpent. Chariots and Horses of the Sun. Observation of Times. Incantments. Witchcraft. Wizards. Dealing with familiar Spirits. Human Sacrifices. The Babylonish Captivity cur'd the Jews of Idolatry.

HAVING in the foregoing Chapter given an Account of the Idolatrys the Kingdom of *Israel* fell into, and the Methods of divine Providence in reforming it, we shall in this treat of those with which that of *Judah* was corrupted.

ONE would have imagined, if there had been no other reason than worldly

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Policy

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Policy (which, as we have seen, brought the Idolatry of the *Golden Calves* into *Israel*) for preserving the true Religion in its native Purity, and free from the least Pollution among the two Tribes which kept close to the House of *David*, it should have been sufficient to have prevented any false Worship being set up. For after that dismal Rent, the new erected Kingdom was become a fresh Enemy to * *the City which the Lord had chosen out of all the Tribes of Israel to put his Name in*, which was therefore oblig'd to strengthen itself, and provide against it; and the very same Reasons which led the ten Tribes to set up that strange Worship, should have induc'd these to have been zealous for the true. They were in possession of the Temple, to which all true Believers were oblig'd three times a Year to come up to worship; and their Prince was of the Lineage and House of *David* and *Solomon*; which not only brought over to them all the *Priests* and *Levites* †, but others too, who left their Habitations and Possessions, and came and joyn'd with them to attend the Dutys of their Religion, and kept up a very strong and numerous Party in the

* 1 Kings xiv. 21.

† 2 Chron. xi. 14, &c.

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other Kingdom of those, who retaining their old Religion, could not but be ready on all occasions to serve and assist them.

BUT the contrary we shall find to be the Case. For notwithstanding the great strength added to the Kingdom of *Judah* by those, who out of the other Tribes join'd with it for the sake of Religion, Prosperity puffed up *Rehoboam*, and soon ruin'd him. He continued but * *three Years walking in the way of David and Solomon*, before those Inclinations began to appear, which, it may be, were instill'd into him by *Naamah his Mother, who was an Ammonitess* †; and who, tho she might have been profelyted before she married *Solomon*, might retain so much of the Religion of her Country, as to instill ill Principles into her Son, and entice him, as she is esteem'd to have done *Solomon*, to Idolatry. In short, *he forsook the Law of the Lord, and all Israel with him* ‡, and fell into a much grosser Idolatry than that of *Jeroboam*; *they provok'd the Lord to Jealousy with their Sins which they committed*, (that is, by joyning other Gods together with him) *above all*

* 2 Chron. xi. 17.

† 1 Kings xiv. 21.

‡ 2 Chron. xii. 1.

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*that their Fathers had done: For they also built them high Places, and Images, and Groves, on every high Hill, and under every green Tree **. But they were not contented with this, which, as we have seen, had been practised before them, but carried their Wickedness to a much greater height. *For there were also Sodomites in the Land †.*

By these *Sodomites* we are not to understand any Relicks or Remnant of the People of *Sodom*, but such as follow'd the Abominations of that City; that is, as Dr. *Lightfoot* interprets it ‡, *Men who prostituted themselves to Sodomy, and Women who kept Brothel Houses.* They were come to that Excess of Impiety and Wickedness, that they had Tents or Chapels, or, if you will, Colleges, adjoyning to their idolatrous Temples, inhabited by Persons of both Sexes, whose profess'd business it was, in Honour of their impure Deitys, to prostitute their Bodys in the most horrid manner. These Colleges the *Jews* erected, notwithstanding they had receiv'd that Command in the Law of *Moses* ||, *Do*

* 1 Kings xiv. 22, 23.

† Ver. 24.

‡ Vol. I. p. 80, of his Works.

|| Lev. xix. 29.

not prostitute thy Daughter, to cause her to be a Whore: which I chuse rather to understand, with Bishop Patrick, of these religious Prostitutions, than of any others; for we cannot well think any one would expose his Daughter as a common Strumpet, tho he might overlook her Leudness: and it is plain from *Lev. xxi. 7. Judg. xi. 1.* and from several Places in the *Proverbs*, as well as from *Solomon's* Judgment between the two Harlots, that there were such in *Israel*. And therefore, *Deut. xxiii. 17.* we find both the Men and Women, who were devoted to this impure Service, joyn'd together in the same Prohibition; *There shall be no Whore of the Daughters of Israel, nor a Sodomite of the Sons of Israel.*

BUT notwithstanding these Prohibitions, such Colleges were set up in their sacred Groves, which being on their *High Places*, is the reason the *LXX* (who frequently chuse to give us the Meaning rather than the literal Signification of the Text) translate their *High Places* * by τὸ πορνεῖον, *Lupanar*; and that we so often find their *High Places* joyn'd in Scripture with these Abominations: as † *He made*

* Ezek. xvi. 39.

† 2 Chron. xxi. 11.

*High Places in the Mountains of Judah, and caused the Inhabitants of Jerusalem to commit Fornication: and in several other Places, as where the Prophet Ezekiel alludes to their enclosing a Place for their Obscenity with their Garments: * Of thy Garments thou didst take, and deckedst thy High Places with divers Colours, and playedst the Harlot thereupon. To the like use they put the Hangings the Women were sometimes employ'd in Weaving, as appears from 2 Kings xxiii. 7. He broke down the Houses of the Sodomites, that were by the House of the Lord, where the Women wove Hangings for the Grove, or for Asherah, that is, for Astarte, as we have seen it ought to be translated.*

WITH these Garments, Hangings, or Curtains, says Bishop Patrick, they encompass'd their Idols, and made a kind of House for them, as the Hebrew Word imports, which the Greeks call'd *váidia*, that is, *little Temples*, or Habitations, into which the Worshipers retir'd, and before the Image of their Deity committed their abominable Leudness. The retiring Places were called *Succoth-benoth*; so the Men of Babylon are said to have made † Suc-

* Chap. xvi. 6.

† 2 Kings xvii. 30.

coth-benoth, which is not to be understood as the Name of a Deity, but of these little Temples; for the Word plainly imports the *Tabernacle of Daughters*, or of young Maidens, that is, those Chapels wherein their Daughters were prostituted. Mr. Addison was shewn one of them at *Puteoli*, which was adjoyning to the Ruins of an old heathen Temple, and call'd the *Chamber of Venus*. It was wholly dark, says he *, and had several Figures on the Cieling, wrought in Stucco, that seem to represent Lust and Strength by the Emblems of naked *Jupiters* and *Gladiators*, *Tritons* and *Centaurs*, &c. so that one would guess it formerly to have been the Scene of many lewd Mysterys.

MR. Selden † is of Opinion, that by *Kedeschim*, which we translate *Sodomites*, and understand of those Men and Women who prostituted their Bodys as a piece of Religion, is meant their *Priests*; as by *Kedeschoth* St. Jerom understands the *Priestesses*, whose Bodys were expos'd in Honour of *Baal-Peor*: and accordingly the LXX translate *Kedeschim* ‡ very pro-

* *Travels.*

† *Synt. ii. c. 7.*

‡ See St. Jerom on *Hof. iv. 14.*

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perly by τετελεσμένοι, such as were initiated into the service of the Idol; and *Theodotion* renders it by μεχωρισμένοι, à *Populo separati*; and the Character *Julius Firmicus* gives us of the Priests of *Juno* or *Astarte* agrees very well with this Supposition: “ Whose Priests cannot be qualified for
“ her Service, says he, but by making
“ their Persons effeminate, shaving them-
“ selves close, and dishonouring their
“ Sex by wearing the habit of the other.
“ One may see in the very Temples most
“ scandalous follies, Men become Pathics,
“ and declare and publish this Stain of
“ their Nature with an ostentatious boast-
“ ing, &c.” But these Abominations
were committed not by the Priests and
Priestesses alone, but by others too, as is
plain from *Athanasius* *: “ It is certain,
“ says he, that the *Phœnician* Women, in
“ former Times, prostituted themselves
“ before their Idols; making an Offering
“ to their Gods, by way of First-Fruits,
“ of the Pay which they received for the
“ loss of their Virginity, being persuaded
“ they made them propitious to them by
“ that whorish Oblation. The Men too,
“ renouncing their Sex, and appearing no
“ longer in the Quality of Men, affected

* Orat. cont. Gent. p. 27.

“ to go and behave like Women, as if
 “ thereby they did Honour to the Mother
 “ of the Gods.”

THE Annotator on Father *Calmet's* Dictionary * informs us, that this infamous Practice is still continued in the East, according to the Account of modern Travellers; that *Tavernier* tells us †, that there is a Pagod near *Cambay*, where the Women prostitute themselves to their Idol. And that *Mark Polo* takes notice of the like Custom in the Province of *Camul*, and says that 'twas forbidden by *Mangon Khan*, whose Order for three Years was obey'd; but that his People observing then that their Fields were not so fruitful as usual, sent Deputys to him with a Representation against it.

THE manner in which they offer'd themselves to Strangers is describ'd by *Herodotus*, and explains a Passage in *Jeremiah's* Letter, where he alludes to the *Babylonian Idolatry* ‡: *The Women also with Cords about them, says Jeremiah, sitting in the Ways, burn Bran for Perfume; but if any of them, drawn by some*

* *Art. Astarte.*

† *P. ii. l. ii. c. 5.*

‡ *Baruch vi. 43.*

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that passeth by, lie with him; she reproacheth her Fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her Cord broken. For as *Herodotus* tells us *, " Every Woman at *Babylon* is oblig'd, once in her Life, to sit down openly in the Temple of *Venus*, in order to prostitute herself to some Stranger: Yet, because the most wealthy disdain to expose themselves in publick among the rest, many come in cover'd Chariots to the Gates of the Temple, and make that their Station, with a numerous Train of Servants attending at a distance. But the far greater part enter into the Temple; and sit down crown'd with Garlands, some continually going out, and others coming in: The Gallerys where they sit are built in a strait Line, and open on every side, that all Strangers may have a free Passage to chuse such Women as they like best," that is, they form'd some Ranks, which were separated from each other by *Cords*, and are what are call'd, by *Jeremiah*, *Ways*. Dr. *Hyde* † gives it another Turn: " They sat crown'd with Garlands, says he, and their lower Garments were tyed with small and weak

* L. i.

† Rel. Vet. Per. p. 91.

“Cords made of Rushes,” *qui ad congregandum erant frangendi*; or, it may be, these Women had *Cords*, as a Token that they were under a Vow, which when they had perform’d, the *Cord* was properly said to be *broken*; for every Vow may be call’d *Vinculum* *, or a *Cord*. *Herodotus* goes on and tells us, “that those Women who excel in Beauty and Shape, are soon dismiss’d; but the Deform’d are sometimes necessitated to wait three or four Years, before they can satisfy the Law.” We meet with pretty much the same Account in *Strabo* †: “’Tis the Custom of all *Babylonian* Women, says he, to have to do with some Stranger. They come in, or rather offer themselves in a Croud, being very well set out, each one crown’d with a Garland.” The Custom mention’d by *Herodotus* just before (“that when a *Babylonian* intends to accompany with his Wife, he first burns Incense, sitting on one side of the Fire, while she does the same on the other”) gives us Light into what *Jeremiah* means by *the Branches they burn for a Perfume*; that they were preparing their Perfume, (it may be

* See Grotius on Baruch vi. 42.

† L. xvi.

something like the *Romans Mola salsa*, Flower which they threw into the Fire when they sacrificed) that nothing might be wanting when they were so fortunate as to be address'd to by a Stranger. Tho it may be this *Incense*, or *Bran*, which they burnt for a *Perfume*, was intended as a *Love-Potion*; something which they us'd, by way of Charm, for an Incentive to their Inclinations. For Πίσυρον, the Word made use of in *Jeremiah's* Epistle, which *Grotius* supposes to have been wrote by some Jew in Greek, we meet with in the *Pharmaceutria* of *Theocritus*, where *Simætha* is using her Incantations for the Love of *Delphis*,

Νῦν θυῶ τε Πίσυρον

v. 33.

Nunc Furfures sacrificabo.

Strabo goes on and tells us, that “ the
“ Stranger who makes Choice of one of
“ these Ladys, throws into her Lap a
“ piece of Money, which is consecrated
“ to *Venus* ;” and *Herodotus* says, “ that
“ the Law forbids her to refuse the Pre-
“ sent, how small soever, because such
“ Money is accounted sacred :” which
gives us the Reason of the divine Prohi-
bition *, *Thou shalt not bring the Hire of*

* Deut. xxiii. 18.

a Whore into the House of the Lord thy God; meaning, that if any of these Women should make an Offering unto God of what they thus got by prostituting their Bodys, it was so far from being acceptable unto him, that it was to be rejected as the greatest Abomination; and this suits with the Precepts immediately following after that other, * *There shall be no Whore of the Daughters of Israel, nor a Sodomite of the Sons of Israel.*

THIS Custom of their exposing themselves in their Temples, seems to have spread it self very far; *Herodotus* tells us †, that the *Cyprian Women* had a Custom not unlike the *Babylonian*. And we may conclude from *Valerius Maximus* ‡, that they had the like at the Temple of *Venus* at *Sicca* in *Africk*, as *Strabo* tells us they had ||, not only at *Corinth* **, but at *† *Comana* in *Cappadocia*. And from a Passage in *Herodotus* *†, one would guess, they antiently every where made their Temples the Scene of their impious

* *Ver. 17.*

† *L. i.*

‡ *L. ii. c. 6.*

|| *L. viii.*

** See *Bayle's Dict. Article Lais, Remark G.*

*† *L. xii.*

*† *L. ii.*

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Lusts: " The *Egyptians*, says he, were
 " the first that ordain'd, that Men should
 " abstain from Women in the Temples;
 " and not enter into any sacred Place
 " without washing, after the use of a
 " Woman. For almost all other Nations,
 " except the *Egyptians* and *Grecians*, nei-
 " ther scruple to perform that Action in
 " Temples, nor to go thither unwash'd
 " after they have had the Company of
 " Women; thinking Mankind to be like
 " other Animals. And because they fre-
 " quently see Beasts and Birds coupling
 " together in Groves and Temples, they
 " imagine, that if this Action was dis-
 " agreeable to God, these Creatures would
 " abstain from it in those Places."

THIS abominable Practice continued
 till *Constantine's* Time, as is plain from a
 Passage in his Life, wrote by *Eusebius* *,
 where he mentions the Temple of *Venus*
 at *Aphaca* on Mount *Libanus*: " There
 " was a certain Academy of Leudness
 " there, open for all debauch'd Persons,
 " and such as had corrupted their Bodys
 " with all manner of Filthiness. For cer-
 " tain effeminate Men, deserving rather
 " the name of Women than Men, re-

* L. iii. c. 55.

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“ nouncing the Gravity and Dignity of
“ their Sex, and being us’d in the Nature
“ of Women, appeased by these Practices
“ the Deity of the Place. And more-
“ over, unlawful Congress with Women,
“ and Adulterys, and beastly and most
“ filthy Crimes were acted in that Tem-
“ ple, as in a privileged Place, exempted
“ from all Law and Government *.”

As to the Rise and Original of this abominable Practice, I cannot attribute it, as I have done the obscene Manner in which they represented their Gods, and some other things of the like Nature, to the commemorating of them as the first Parents of an infinite Number of People. For here we meet with Leudness contrary to Nature, and which we can’t therefore think should flow from such a Spring; but rather, that the Heathens fell into this dissolute Practice, from what they believed of their Gods, thinking themselves oblig’d to take them for their Pattern. For we may reasonably suppose it to be a part of the heathen Religion, as well as of our own, to imitate the Object of Worship, and to form the Behaviour on

* See Alex. ab Alex. l. vi. c. 26. Spencer l. ii. c. 35.
and Heidegger’s Hist. Patriarch. Exercit. i. Sect. 2.

the heavenly Model. So that we may conclude, that their unworthy Representations of the celestial Powers, must needs have advanc'd the Cause of Ungodliness in the ignorant World; and that it was the believing such Impiety's of their Gods, that produc'd such an impious Religion.

" He who indulges himself in Adultery,
 " says *Julius Firmicus*, considers *Jupiter*,
 " and from that Encouragement seeks
 " out where to assuage his Lust; he approves, commends, and imitates the
 " Stratagem of his God's deluding one in
 " the shape of a Swan, ravishing another
 " in that of a Bull, sporting and ranging
 " about like a Satyr, and being so liberal
 " to his Mistress, when he debauch'd a
 " Princess, that was shut up in a Tower,
 " by help of a Shower of Gold. Another, who has a Taste for Masculine
 " Love, may look for *Ganymede* in *Jove's*
 " Embraces; he may turn his Eyes to *Hercules*, searching about for *Hylas* with
 " an impatient longing; or know how
 " *Apollo* once fell in Love with *Hyacinthus*." This is no more than we meet
 with in * *Lucian*, where, speaking of their principal Deity, he says, " He depos'd his Father, made him a Prisoner,

* *Of Sacrifices.*

“ and invaded his Crown; then turn’d all
 “ Heaven into a Brothel-House, married
 “ an infinite number of Wives, and last
 “ of all, his own Sister *Juno*, in imita-
 “ tion of the *Assyrians* and *Persians*, a-
 “ mong whom Incest is tolerated by the
 “ Laws of the Land. The next Scene
 “ of his Life is his Lust, which they
 “ make as boundless as his Command;
 “ that he stock’d all Heaven with a Race
 “ of Bastards, some of whom were begot
 “ by a kindly mixture of Gods and
 “ Goddesses; others were of a mortal
 “ Strain, a mongrel Race, half humane,
 “ half divine; that he transform’d him-
 “ self into more variety of Shapes, than
 “ ever *Proteus* did, into Gold, a Swan,
 “ an Eagle, a Bull, in the pursuit of his
 “ Amours.” And having given the like
 Account of most of their other Deitys,
 he concludes, “ This is the Life the Gods
 “ lead, and the whole System of the di-
 “ vine Worship has been form’d agreeably
 “ to the extravagant Ideas fram’d of these
 “ formidable Phantoms.” No wonder
 then if the Religion of the Pagans was
 monstrous, when they believ’d such things
 of their Deitys, and suited to that Belief
 the religious Worship they paid them.

BUT God soon corrected *Rehoboam* and
 his People; because they had forsaken
 VOL. II. I him,

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him, he, in his Turn, forsook them, and deliver'd them into the Hands of their Enemys. We are expressely told, that 'twas *because they had transgress'd against the Lord **, that he sent the *Egyptian Shishak*, who, with a vast Army, enter'd their Country, took their fenced Citys, and plunder'd *Jerusalem* and the Temple of all the Riches *David* and *Solomon* had treasur'd up. But the King and his People repenting at the Reproof of *Shemaiah* the Prophet †, and sorrowfully confessing the Justice of their Punishment; their Humiliation ‡ mitigated God's Anger: He gave them not over to utter Destruction, but taught them, by Subjection to the *Egyptians*, the difference between him and other Masters ||.

WE do not find that the Kingdom of *Judah* after this fell into any Idolatry, which we have not already taken notice of, till the Reign of *Abaz*, who was the most impious Prince that had ever sat upon the Throne. He was not content with ** *walking in the Ways of the Kings*

* 2 Chron. xii. 2.

† Ver. 5, 6.

‡ Ver. 7.

|| Ver. 8.

** 2 Chron. xxviii. 2, &c.

of Israel, and making *molten Images of Baalim*, and with *sacrificing and burning Incense in the High Places, and on the Hills, and under every green Tree*; but he carried his wicked Inclinations still farther, and imitated the old Inhabitants of the Land in an idolatrous Practice we have not before met with; *He burnt Incense in the Valley of the Son of Hinnom, and burnt his Children in the Fire*, 2 Chron. xxviii. 3. or, as it is in 2 Kings xvi. 3. *he made his Son to pass thorough the Fire.*

THIS Pyrolatry, or Fire-worship, was an Idolatry different from what we have yet met with, tho it was practis'd by the antient Inhabitants of *Canaan*; as it is certain, not only from what we are here told, *that Ahab made his Son to pass thro' Fire, according to the Abominations of the Heathen, whom the Lord cast out before the Children of Israel* *; but likewise from its being forbid, amongst other Crimes which that People were guilty of, as *Lev. xviii. 21. Thou shalt not let any of thy Seed pass thro' the Fire, to Molech.* Where it is to be observ'd, the Word *Fire* is printed in our Bibles, in *Italick Characters*, as not being in the *Hebrew*; so

* 2 Chron. xxviii. 3.

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that the Words without it would be, *pass thro' to Molech*. *Heeverta*, which we translate *pass thro'*, is render'd in *Ex. xiii. 12. set apart, Thou shalt set apart unto the Lord*: So that we may plainly interpret this Precept thus, *Thou shalt not dedicate or consecrate any of thy Seed to Molech*. And there being no Penalty annex'd to this Law, shews that the Crime it forbids, is not so heinous as the sacrificing their Children, which is prohibited under the pain of Death: *Whoever he be of the Children of Israel, or of the Strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his Seed unto Molech, he shall surely be put to Death* *. And therefore, *Deut. xviii. 10.* where the Prohibition of this Dedication of their Children is repeated, the LXX rather explain than translate the *Hebrew Words*, περικαθαίρων ἐν πυρὶ, that is, one who purified or lustrated his Son or Daughter in the Fire. And this being a Rite of Initiation into the Service, or Worship, of *Molech*, is the Reason we never find it mention'd of Men or Women, but of Children only: and therefore, in the Conclusion of this Precept, they are said thereby to *profane the Name of the Lord* †, that is, reject and disown

* Lev. xx. 2.

† Lev. xviii. 21.

him, by devoting their Children to *Molech*, who should have been dedicated to none but him.

BUT whether *Abaz's* Crime was this Dedication or Lustration of his Son, or a real Sacrifice of him, I must confess, is not plain. However, the best of our Commentators understanding it of the former, I shall understand it so too, having Occasion to speak of the sacrificing their Children, when I come to *Manasseh's* Reign; tho it be no Argument which some of them have made use of, that this Prince did not sacrifice his Children, because *Hezekiah* his Son outliv'd him, for he might have had more Sons than him.

THAT it was the Practice of the antient Heathens to pass * thro' Fire, as a Rite of Initiation or Lustration, is certain from what *Suidas* tell us of the Mysterys of *Mithra*, that they who were to be initiated, were δια πυρός παρελθεῖν. And it is plain from *Virgil*, that it was us'd in the worship of *Apollo* by the *Etrurians* on Mount *Soracte* (the *Italians* at present † call the Mount, because its Name begins with an S, *San Oreste*.)

* See Dr. Spencer, l. ii. c. 13.

† Mr. Addison's Travels.

*O Patron of Soraete's high Abodes,
Phœbus the ruling Pow'r among the Gods,
Whom first we serve, whole Woods of
unctuous Pine*

*Are fell'd for thee, and to thy Glory shine.
By thee protected, with our naked Soles,
Thro' Flames unsing'd we march, and
tread the kindled Coals.*

Æn. xi. v. 786.

Pliny also tells us, that these People were never burnt, and that they were therefore, amongst other Immunitys, freed from Service in War: "Not far from the City of *Rome*, in the Country of the *Falisci*, says he, there are some few Familys who go by the Name of *Hirpian*, who, in an annual Sacrifice which is held to *Apollo* upon Mount *Soraete*, walk over an heap of burning Wood without being hurt, and are therefore, by a perpetual Decree of the Senate, exempted from serving in the Wars, or being burthen'd with any Duty." It may be the *Canaanitish* Custom was much the same with what the *Romans* did annually at their *Palilia*, which were Feasts they kept on the 12th of *May*, which was the * Birth-Day of their City, to

* *Ovid. Fast. l. iv. v. 806. and Prop. l. iv. Eleg. 4.*
the

the Honour of their Goddess *Pales*, who, as *Gyraldus* tells us * from *Servius*, was the same as the Mother of the Gods, (or *Astarte*) and that some took her to be of the Feminine, others of the Masculine Gender. *Varro*, as he is quoted by the *Scholias*t on *Horace*, says: "The Country People have private as well as publick Feasts of *Pales*, when they jump over a great Fire, made of Stubble and Hay, imagining themselves to be purified by these *Palilia*." *Ovid* describes this Usage,

*Certe ego transilui positas ter in Ordine
Flammas.*

And again,

*Moxque per arduas Stipulae crepitantis
Acervos,*

Trajicias celeri strenua Membra Pede.
Fast. l. iv.

THIS Practice continued, as *Benjamin Tudelensis* tells us †, a long while in *Persia*; and if we will believe some of their Authors ‡, it is even still practis'd there by the Worshipers of Fire. *Theodore*t ||

* Synt. i.

† Itiner. p. 214.

‡ Apud Schickard.

|| On 2 Kings xvi.

mentions it as continuing in his Time; and St. *Chrysostom* blames, amongst other heathenish Customs then remaining, the lighting two great Fires, and passing between them. And the 65th Canon of the Council in *Trullo* condemns the observing the New Moon, with making Fires before their Doors, and leaping on them.

WE meet with the Reason of their being such strict Observers of this Rite in *Maimonides* *: "The Worshipers of Fire gave out, that that Man's Children would certainly dye, who did not make his Son and Daughter pass thro' the Fire." And he goes on and tells us, that there were some Remains of it in his Time.

THE manner of the *Jews* performing this idolatrous Rite, at this distance of Time, is not very easily known. Some suppose, that either their Parents, or the Priests, led them between two Fires; others, that they wav'd them about in the Flames, while the Worshipers danc'd round, or leap'd thro' them. The Fire being a plain Emblem of the *Sun*, or *Molech*, signified their being consecrated to that Deity.

* Part iii. c. 37.

BUT let us see how God dealt with *Abaz*, and his People for their falling into this Idolatry. As their Crime was great, he brought great Miserys upon them. We are expressly told, that 'twas therefore * he stirr'd up against *Judah*, *Rezin* King of *Syria*, and *Pekab* King of *Israel*; who, having ravag'd the Country, laid Siege to the Capitol of the Kingdom, and boasted that they would make the Son of Tabeal † King. Upon this the royal Family of *Judah* were under great Apprehensions that the Invasion might put an end to that Kingdom. But their Enemys were not to exceed the Warrant the Lord had given them, which was to punish *Abaz* for his Wickedness, not the whole House of *David*. He sent therefore the Prophet *Isaiab*, who had before denounc'd his Judgments against them for their Ingratitude ‡, to assure them || that their Family should not be extinct, but that the *Messiah* should in due Time arise out of it. And then for a standing Antidote against their Idolatry, which consisted, as we have seen, in the super-

* 2 Chron. xxviii. 5.

† Is. vii. 6.

‡ Is. v.

|| Chap. vii.

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stitious Worship of false Mediators, he gave them a more full and plain Information of God's eternal Purpose in sending his Son into the World, who was to be the only Mediator with him. And this the Prophet, who *saw by an excellent Spirit what should come to pass at the last **, inform'd them of with that Clearness and Perspicuity, that he has always been most justly esteem'd an Evangelist, giving an Account of past Actions, rather than a Prophet foretelling Things to come.

BUT *Abaz* was no sooner deliver'd, but he grew more wicked and perverse than he was before. Wherefore God, the next Year, gave him into the Hands of the same confederated Kings, who divided their Troops into three Armys. *Rezin*, with his, *carried away a great multitude of Captives to Damascus*, while *Pekah* gave him Battle, and *slew an hundred and twenty thousand in one Day, which were all valiant Men †*. Upon which *Zicbri*, a mighty Man of Ephraim, who commanded the third Army, took *Jerusalem*, *slew Maaseiah the King's Son*, with

* Ecclef. xlviii. 24.

† 2 Chron. xxviii. 5, 6.

other Princes of the People, and carried two hundred thousand into Captivity. In short, *Abaz*, instead of having Recourse to the divine Protection, repeating his Crimes, drew still farther the Wrath and Vengeance of God down upon him; and *Tiglath-Pileser*, whose Aid he had sent for, compleated his Destruction, and, in pursuance of *Isaiab's* Prophecy, brought upon him, his People and his Father's House, Days that had not come from the Day that Ephraim, (that is, *Israel*) departed from Judah *, and all that Calamity and Distress foretold in the 7th and 8th Chapters of *Isaiab*. And he himself, after a constant Course and Exercise of all manner of outrageous Impietys, died in the Flower of his Days.

HEZEKIAH his Son, who succeeded him, was very different from his Father, a religious and good Prince. *He did that which was right in the Sight of the Lord, according to all that David his Father did †*. The first thing he set about, was settling the main Affair of Religion, and the Worship of God. *He*

* II. vii. 17.

† 2 Kings xviii, 3.

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remov'd the High Places *, which none of his Predecessors had the Courage, or Piety, to attempt ; *and broke the Images, and cut down the Groves.*

AMONGST the Idolatrys which he abolish'd, was the Worship of the *brazen Serpent*. † *He broke in pieces the brazen Serpent that Moses had made ; for unto those Days the Children of Israel did burn Incense to it : And he call'd it Nehushtan.* When this piece of Idolatry first sprung up, is very uncertain. *Kimchi* supposes, that from the Time the Kings of *Israel* corrupted themselves, the People burnt Incense unto it ; and that it escap'd the Scrutiny of *Asa* and *Jehoshaphat*, when they reform'd the Church. This *Serpent* might have been piously preserv'd, as well as *the Pot of Manna*, or *Aaron's Rod*, as a Memorial of God's miraculous Goodness to his People ; and as *Gideon* ‡ intended his *Ephod* should have been a Monument of their Deliverance from the *Midianites*. But this, as well as that, was perverted to Idolatry. It may be, they call'd to mind what God had said of it to *Moses*, *that he who looketh upon it*

* 2 Kings xviii, 4.

† Ibid.

‡ Judg. viii. 27.

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shall live * ; and their Ancestors having receiv'd the benefit of being heal'd by it, they might think, God would the more readily grant their Prayers for their making it a Mediator with him ; and so it became the Object of their Worship. But *Hezekiah*, having observ'd its being us'd as an Idol in his Father's Reign, when he clear'd his Kingdom of other Superstitions, took care to abolish this. Tho with pious Men it would have been a very proper Memorial of God's Mercy, he judg'd it rather to be destroy'd, than, by its remaining, endanger the People's committing of Idolatry. He therefore not only gave it the reproachful Name, *Nebushtan*, which signifies, says Bishop *Patrick*, *foul Fiend, the old Dragon, or Satan* ; but *broke it in pieces* ; that is, as the *Talmudists* explain it, he ground it to Powder, which he scatter'd in the Air ; that no Relique of it might remain to be worship'd by a superstitious People. Father *Calmet* is of Opinion, that the Serpent which is always represented with *Æsculapius*, and with the Goddess *Salus*, and often with the *Egyptian* Deitys, as a Symbol of Healing or Health, ow'd its Original to *Moses's* brazen Serpent. But

* Num. xxi. 8.

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of this enough, we having hereafter occasion to take notice of the religious Worship the Heathens paid to Serpents.

HEZEKIAH was succeeded by *Manasseh* his Son, who was unworthy of such of a Father. Being but twelve Years old when he came to the Crown, he had the unhappiness to fall into the Hands of such for his Guardians and Governors as being ill affected to his Father's Reformation, not only rais'd in him a Detestation of it, but gave him such an Education, that he equal'd, or rather exceeded the *Canaanites*, who had been driven out of the Land, in their abominable Wickedness and Idolatry. * *For he built again the High Places, which Hezekiah his Father had broken down; and he rear'd up Altars for Baalim, and made Groves, and worship'd all the Host of Heaven, and serv'd them. Also he built Altars in the House of the Lord, whereof the Lord had said, in Jerusalem shall my Name be for ever. And he built Altars for all the Host of Heaven, in the two Courts of the House of the Lord. And he caus'd his Children to pass thro' the Fire, in the Valley of the Son of Hinnom: also*

* 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

he observ'd Times, and us'd Incantments, and us'd Witchcraft, and dealt with a familiar Spirit, and with Wizards. He wrought much Evil in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to Anger. And he set a carved Image (the Idol which he had made) in the House of God, of which he had said to David and to Solomon his Son, In this House and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen before all the Tribes of Israel, will I put my Name for ever. He seems to have made it his business, to search out what God in his Law had forbidden, and to make the Practice of it his Study. For we have here, not only a Catalogue of all those Idolatrys his Predecessors had fallen into, but others too of a blacker and deeper Dye. His building of High Places and Altars for Baalim, and his planting of Groves, were no more than what, as we have seen, had been done before him, by one or other of his Predecessors, who, as well as he, worship'd all the Host of Heaven: but his Devotion for the Sun, seems to have outgone theirs, and to have added to the Superstitions with which they worship'd it. For we do not read of * Chariots and Horses consecrated to the Sun till Josiah's Time;

• 2 Kings xxiii. 11.

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and it has been therefore suppos'd that they were first brought in by this Prince.

THE antient Heathens were of Opinion that the *Sun* was carried about the World in a Chariot; and they therefore represented him as riding in one drawn by the most beautiful and swiftest Horses, and performing every Day his Journey to enlighten the World. *Festus* tells us * so of the *Rhodians*, and *Pausanias* † of the *Spartans*; and we have a large Description given us of it by *Ovid* ‡. The *Romans* therefore dedicated the *Quadrigæ* to him, as they did the *Bigæ* to the *Moon*, and on the same Account the *Circus* was sacred to him. Mr. *Addison* || supposes that it was for some Victory in the Chariot-Races, that the Emperor *Commodus* was complimented with the Chariot of the rising Sun, as describ'd by *Ovid*, on one of the Coins which he presents us with. It is probable, the Chariots and Horses they dedicated to the Sun were made of Wood, Stone, or some Metal; for the Horses we find represented to us in *Spon* in the Shape of *Griffins*, which

* In Voce October.

† In Laconicis.

‡ Metam. l. ii.

|| Of Medals.

it is certain, from *Philostratus*, *Heliodorus*, and others, were sacred to *Apollo* or the *Sun*. Hence in *Goltzius* we so frequently find a *Griffin*, sometimes with a *Tripod* on the Coins of such Citys as were famous for the Worship of the *Sun*: and, in the Table of *Isis*, a *Griffin* is join'd to the Image of *Osiris*, who is the same with the *Sun*, as sacred to him; and hence on the Reverse of a Coin of *Gallienus* *, we see a *Griffin*; the Legend, *Apollini Conf. Aug. or Conservatori Augusti*. But there is no doubt but that they dedicated likewise real living Horses to the *Sun*. Such, 'tis probable, those were, which were taken away by *Josiah*, for the Scripture does not say that they were *golden*, *silver* or *brazen Horses*; which 'tis likely it would have done, had they been made of either of those Metals: And, besides, we are told that they stood in the Street, which led from one of the Temple Gates to the House of † *Nathan-melech the Chamberlain*, which was in the Suburbs; for so the Words imply. We may suppose that they made choice of this Animal, as they did of *Hawks* and some other Creatures, on account of their *Swift*ness. It is cer-

* Spanh. Diff. iii.

† 2 Kings xxiii. 11.

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tain the *Massagetæ* did so, of whom *Herodotus* tells us *, “ that they ador’d the “ Sun only of all the Gods, and sacrificed “ Horses to his Deity, judging it most “ proper to offer the swiftest of all Animals to the swiftest of the Gods.” And *Strabo* † says the same thing of them ‡. It is uncertain whether the *Israelites* kept these Horses for Sacrifices, as not only the *Massagetæ*, but the *Romans*, *Spartans*, *Ethiopians*, *Armenians*, and *Persians* || did; or whether they were kept, as some of the *Rabbis* will have it, and as it may be their Chariots were, to be led every Morning in Pomp to meet the rising Sun; or, as others of them, for his more solemn Worshipers to ride out early in the Morning to salute him.

BUT this was far from being the only Superstition in which *Manasseh* exceeded his Predecessors; he observed Times, which was what God had forbid his People, *Lev. xix. 26*. In the *Hebrew* it is *Teonenu*,

* L. i.

† L. xi.

‡ He who would know more of the Horses of the Sun, may consult the Authors refer’d to by *Fabricius*, *Bibliographia Ant. c. viii. § 12*.

|| See the Authors quoted by *Bochart*, *Hieroz. part i. l. ii. c. 11*.

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a Word which learned Men are not agreed in the Interpretation of. Some have deriv'd it from *Ain*, an *Eye* *, and understand it of *Juglers*, who, by their Legerdemain, deceive the Sight in playing their Tricks. Others derive the Word from *Anan*, a *Cloud*, imagining the Precept enjoin'd the taking no notice of the flying of the Clouds, which the *Chaldeans* were much addicted to, and against which *Jeremiah* therefore cautions the *Jews*, when they were going captive into their Country †; *Learn not the Way of the Heathen*, says he, *and be not dismayed at the Signs of Heaven, for the Heathen are dismayed at them*. But the more probable Derivation of the Word, is from *Onah*, which signifies *Time*. This agrees with our Translation, and is acceptable to the best Interpreters. And then it must be understood of the observing some Days as lucky, others as unlucky. The Heathens, 'tis certain, were of Opinion that there were particular Days and Months which carried something fatal in them, certain Seasons and Times appropriated for good and bad Events; that, agreeably to the Precepts of their Astro-

* Maimon. Avoda Zara. c. xi.

† Chap. x. 2.

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logers, some Days were the Cause of Success, and therefore proper for one Business, others for another; and that some were proper for none at all, being the Cause of the miscarriage of such things as were undertaken upon them. This is a Superstition, which, 'tis certain, very antiently prevail'd, as is plain from *Hesiod* *;

*Some Days, like rigid Step-Dames, adverse
prove,*

*'Tbwart our Intentions, cross whate'er we
love;*

*Others more fortunate, and lucky shine,
And, as a tender Mother, bless what we
design.*

'Twas a Practice common in almost every Nation, and made a deep Impression on the Understandings of the greatest Men. "*Augustus* † never went abroad " upon the Day after the *Nundinae*, nor " began any serious Undertaking on the " *Nones*." *St. Ambrose* tells us ‡, that the first Converts from Heathenism were much addicted to it; and it is a Super-

* *In his Days.*

† *Suetonius c. xcii.*

‡ *On Gal. iv. 10.*

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stition, which will, I am afraid, subsist among Christians to the end of the World. The great *Bodin*, who was equally famous for his Wit and Learning, could trifle away his Time in giving us * a Collection of Revolutions which happen'd in the Month of *September*; which brings to my Mind a Passage in Mr. *POPE*; † “ I believe, says he, it will be found a true Observation, that there never was any Thing so absurd or ridiculous, but has at one Time or other been written by some Author of Reputation; A Reflection it may not be improper for Writers to make, as being at once some Mortification to their Vanity, and some Comfort to their Infirmary.”

How inconvenient this Opinion was to them, appears from *Lucian's* Description of an unlucky Day, “ On which, says he ‡, neither do the Magistrates meet to consult about publick Affairs, neither are Law-Suits decided in the Hall, nor Sacrifices offer'd, nor, in fine, any sort of Business undertaken, wherein a Man would wish himself fortu-

* *De Repub. l. iv. c. 9.*

† *On Il. iv. v. 630.*

‡ *Pseudologist.*

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“ nate. Such sorts of Days, as he goes
 “ on, have been instituted by different
 “ Nations on different Accounts.” The
 same Author, in another place, tells us*,
 “ that *Lycurgus*, the *Lacedæmonian* Law-
 “ giver, had made it a fundamental In-
 “ stitution of Government, never to enter
 “ upon any warlike Expedition, but
 “ when the Moon was at the Full; that
 “ People being of Opinion that all
 “ Things were under her Influence and
 “ Direction, and that consequently their
 “ Forces Abroad wou’d not act with such
 “ Vigour and Success, nor their Affairs
 “ at Home be so well manag’d in the
 “ Increase, as in the Decrease of the
 “ Moon.”

SUCH an Observation of Times could
 not but be a very great Sin in the *Jewish*
 People. The only Foundation it could
 be built upon, was a Belief, which, as
Plutarch informs us†, was very antient,
 of two Principles, the one an infinite
 good, the other an infinite evil one; who
 were at a continual Disagreement toge-
 ther, having no Power or Sovereignty
 over one another, but as each got the

* Concerning *Astrology*.

† *Is. and Of.*

Preeminence, Good or Evil was administered to the World: the good Principle intending all Happiness, the evil Principle all manner of Ill. This is what the Poets mean when they speak of the *Fates*, *Parcæ*, &c.

THE Heathens being possess'd with this Opinion of God and the Devil dividing the Sovereignty of the World between them, there soon sprung up Astrologers who pretended to foretel by the Stars which of the two would be uppermost, and have the Government of Affairs at any particular Time. This they made a Profession or Science. *Lucian*, who wrote a Treatise in Defence of it *, attributes the Merit of the Invention to the *Ethiopians*, who, he says, "were the first Discoverers of the Art;" that from them, "'twas handed to the *Egyptians*, who were their near Neighbours, and greatly cultivated and improv'd it." That "the *Babylonians* indeed pretended that they were the first Inventors," but that he was of Opinion, that "their Knowledge was of a much later Date." He goes on and tells us, that "of all the Nations, he

* Concerning Astrology.

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“ never heard of any but the *Arcadians*,
“ who contemn'd and rejected it.”

THIS Superstition, as the Baron *Puf-
fendorf* assures us *, “ still bewitches a
“ great part of the Eastern World, where
“ no business of Moment is undertaken,
“ without consulting the Astrologers,
“ *that they may read, as the Phrase is,*
“ *what is written in Heaven.*” To which
purpose, Father *Bernier* tells a pleasant
Story of a Gardiner of *Abas* King of
Persia, who “ rooting up some Trees,
“ which the King, by Direction of his
“ Astrologer, had planted in a *fortunate*
“ *Hour*, and being thereupon rebuk'd,
“ turning to the Astrologer, *Sure*, says
“ he, *you was out in your Calculation:*
“ *for those Trees could never have the Bene-*
“ *fit of lucky Stars, which were set at*
“ *Noon, and unfortunately pull'd up at*
“ *Night.*”

IT appears from *Lucian's* Treatise,
which I just now refer'd to, and several
other Authors, that the *Astrologers* divided
the Heavens into several Houses, each of
which had its particular Function, and
belong'd to a particular Planet; and then

* Law of Nature and Nations, l. ii. c. 4. § 4.

suppos'd

suppos'd, that some Planets were good, some evil, and others indifferent of themselves, but took their Character from such as they were in Conjunction with; and that every Person was in a particular manner dear to the Planet under whose Aspect and Influence he was born. "For whatsoever Planet, says *Lucian*, is Lord of the House, at the Time of any Man's Nativity, produces in him a Complexion, a Shape, Actions and Dispositions of Mind exactly answerable to its own." By these Principles laid down, and many more of the same kind, they fill'd People's Fancys with Signs and Omens, disquieted their Minds, and took them off from the Contemplation of God's Laws, and advanc'd the Worship of Stars and Demons. And therefore *Moses*, where he tells the *Jews*, that * *the Nations they were to possess, hearken'd unto Observers of Times, and unto Diviners*, commands them to be perfect with the Lord their God, that is, to have nothing to do with any other God, nor with any of the Rites and Ceremonys of the heathen Worship.

* Deut. xviii. 13, 14.

THE like Superstition put *Manasseh* upon using *Inchantments*, which had been forbid together with the * *the Observing of Times*. The *Hebrew*, *lo tenakashu*, in its Signification relates particularly to Divining by *Serpents* or *Birds*, and may be refer'd † to any kind of Divination, of which the Heathens had too many ‡ to be taken notice of by us. But, it may be, as Bishop *Patrick* observes, such superstitious Observations were meant by it, as we meet with in *Theophrastus* || and *Plutarch* ||. “The Superstitionist,” says the former of them, “if a Weesel crosses
“the way he goes, stirs no farther till
“some body else has gone before him,
“or he has thrown three Stones cross the
“way.” Many such Observances you may meet with amongst the Antients, which are derided by *Terence* **; they made however such a deep Impression on Mens Minds, that it was difficult for

* Lev. xix. 26.

† Leo Barcelon. Præcept. 253.

‡ You have a Multitude of them in an Alphabetical Order, and a Collection of the Authors, who have wrote upon each of them, made by *Fabricius*, *Bibliographia Ant.* c. xii. § 2.

|| Of Superstition.

** Phormio, *Act* iv. Scene 4.

them

them to part with them, even after they had embrac'd * Christianity.

To this he added *the Use of Witchcraft*, the LXX translate it *ἑφάρμανέμετο*; he practis'd what we call *the black Art* or *Magick*. This was at first had in very great Honour and Reputation, and the Professors of it applied themselves to Philosophy and a strict Search into the Mysterys of Nature. The Account *Plato* gives us † of *Magick*, is, that it consisted at first in the Knowledge of divine Things, and the right Worship of the Gods. But the case was soon alter'd, and Philosophy degenerated into the Invocation of *Demons*, and the pretended Practice of performing, by certain medicated and enchanted Compositions of Herbs, Minerals, &c. by Incantations, Fascinations, and the like diabolical Means, such surprising Effects as surpass'd both Art and Nature: as *Pharaoh's Magicians* pretended to equal the Miracles wrought by the Finger of the true God.

THIS Art not only flourish'd in *Persia*, which was famous for it, but in

* *St. Chrysost. viiith Homily on Coloss. and the viib against the Jews.*

† *In Alcibiade.*

Phœnicia likewise: for *Democritus*, who improv'd and brought it to some Perfection in *Greece*, is said to have learn'd it out of the Writings of certain *Phœnicians*. *Maimonides* attributes it to the *Zabii*, or *Chaldeans*: "If you read, says he *, the
 " Books I have taken notice of, you will
 " see that Astrology or Magick was
 " practis'd by the *Zabii*, *Casdeans* or
 " *Chaldeans*; but that it was more com-
 " mon amongst the *Egyptians* and *Ca-
 " naanites*: for they persuaded People,
 " and believ'd the Imposture themselves,
 " that by that Art they perform'd many
 " wonderful Works." He goes on and enumerates several different manners of performing their Cheats, and then tells us, that "no magical Operation can be
 " perform'd without Regard had to the
 " Stars: for they hold that every Plant
 " has its governing Star, and ascribe cer-
 " tain ruling Constellations to Animals
 " and Metals. They believe, therefore,
 " that their magical Performances are
 " religious Acts done to the Stars, which
 " they are delighted with, and will
 " therefore grant them whatever they
 " wish for."

* Part iii. c. 37.

I SHALL pass by the surprizing Operations perform'd by their Charms which the Poets * are full of, and only observe, from *Pliny*, that they pretended whenever they pleas'd, *Deos evocare* †, to raise the dead; that *Eusebius* says they affirm'd the Gods ‡ were obedient to them; and that in *Apuleius* we meet with a Witch threatening them with the greatest Mischiefs, and boasting that she could deprive the Sun, Moon and Stars of their Light.

THESE Impostors not only fill'd the Courts of the Eastern Princes, but were very numerous both in *Greece* and *Rome*. There were indeed at all Times Swarms of them all the World over. *Plato* prescribes || a Punishment for them, and *Seneca* tells us **, that they were forbid by the Law at *Athens*, as they were by that of the twelve Tables. *Apud nos in duodecim Tabulis cavetur*, says he, *ne quis alienos Fructus excantasset*. But they were no sooner banish'd the City, than they

* See the *Inchantress's Speech*, *Ovid. Met. l. vii.*

† *L. xxiv. c. 17.*

‡ *Præp. Ev. l. v. c. 8.*

|| *De Legibus l. xi.*

** *Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 7.*

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were courted to it. *Tacitus* says of them that they were, *Genus Hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in Civitate nostra & vetabitur semper, & retinebitur.* But we must distinguish between the Impostors censured by these Laws, and those we meet with in Scripture: the first seem to be such as made a Gain by pretending to do as much out of Temples, as the Priests and establish'd Religious did in them; the latter to be those Priests, &c. themselves.

BUT over and above these, *Manasseh dealt with Wizards.* God had commanded his People, upon pain of Excision *, not † to regard them, nor to turn after them, and order'd that they should be put to Death by Stoning ‡. They were call'd in the Hebrew *Jideonim*, as some will have it, from their putting into their Mouths, when they were consulted with, the Bone of an Animal call'd *Jaduab*. The *Rabbis* tell us many incredible ridiculous Storys of this Creature. With the assistance of one of its Bones, and some Fumes with which they intoxicated

* Lev. xx. vi.

† Lev. xix. 31.

‡ Lev. xx. 27.

themselves, these Impostors pretended to be qualified to give their Answers. *Maimonides* makes the *Jaduab* to be a Bird, (it may be the same as the 'Ivγξ, or *Motacilla*) * " They put the Bone of a certain Bird, says he, speaking of these Cheats, into their Mouths; make a Fumigation till their Understandings are intoxicated, and then utter what they think most likely to come to pass." But 'tis more probable that the *Jideonim* were what we call *Cunning men*; such as pretended to help People to lost Things, and to tell them their Fortunes: For the Word imports *Knowledge*. They had the Name *Jideoni* given them, says Mr. *Selden* †, because they were *Jodaim*, i. e. *Futurorum Conscii*. So that we may determine them to be either such as pretended to have acquir'd, in a natural way, by a long Course of Study, Experience and Observation, a Knowledge of discovering, by the Interpretation of Dreams and other Means, the Secrets of Heaven; or else to be pretty much the same with those the *Greeks* call'd *Δαίμονες*, *Knowers*, who, as we shall presently see, *Plato* tells us, had Intelligence or Communication

* Havoda Sara, c. vi. § 3.

† Synt. i. c. ii.

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with some *Demon*. And accordingly the LXX translate * the Word *Γωόντες*, which signifies *Gnarus* or *Hariolus*.

AT the same time *Manasseh* was guilty of another Wickedness; *he dealt with a familiar Spirit*. The *Jews* had been commanded by God † *not to regard them who had familiar Spirits*. What we translate *familiar Spirits*, is in the *Hebrew* *Obboth*, or *Obb*, as it is in the Singular Number; which may be well enough deriv'd from *Ob*, a *Bottle*, or *hollow Vessel* (a word we meet with *Job xxxii. 19.*) meaning such as spoke with a hollow Voice, who cou'd so well manage the Air in their Lungs, that their words seemed as if they came out of a Bottle, or whose Voice resembled the Murmur or Muffitation which Liquor makes that is pent up in a Bottle. And accordingly *Isaiah* describes those who pretended to have familiar Spirits by their muttering or speaking imperfectly, as if their Voice had proceeded out of the Caverns of the Earth. ‡ *Seek unto them that have familiar Spirits, and unto Wizards that peep*

* 2 Kings xxi. 7.

† Lev. xix. 31.

‡ Chap. viii. 19.

and that mutter. And again, * *Thou shalt be brought down, and shalt speak out of the Ground, and thy Speech shall be low out of the Dust, and thy Voice shall be as of one that hath a familiar Spirit out of the Ground, and thy Speech shall whisper out of the Dust.* And accordingly, the LXX translate these Persons by *εγγαστρίμυθοι*, Lev. xix. 31. and xx. 6. Deut. viii. 11. 1 Sam. xxviii. 3, 7, 8, 9. 1 Chron. x. 13. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6. Isa. viii. 19. *Speakers in their Bellies*; and Isa. xix. 3. by *ἐκ τῆς γῆς φωνήεντο*, such as spoke as if their Voice came out of the Ground. Munster translates such a one, by *Qui habet Spiritum Pythonis*; and he says (on 1 Sam. xxviii. 19.) *Is Spiritus loquitur submissâ Voce, vel ex Membris obscænis, vel ex Cavitate Axillarum*: and so says the Mishna †, “A Pythian Wizard is one who speaks out of his Arm Pits.” We have in Maimonides’s *Havoda Sara* ‡, an Account of the Manner of these Impostors answering the Questions propos’d to them. “Of what kind is that work of the Pytho? He is one who offers a certain kind of Fumigation. He flourishes a Myrtle Rod in his Hand,

* Chap. xxix. 4.

† In Sanhed. c. vii. § 7.

‡ Chap. vi. § 2.

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“ and pronounces certain set Words of
 “ Enchantment; then he seems to con-
 “ sult one who is talking with him
 “ and answering him Questions, as it
 “ were underground, with so low a Voice
 “ that he cannot hear it, but must collect
 “ the meaning by his Imagination.” The
 famous *Pythia* was a noted Impostor of
 this Kind, who setting upon a *Tripod* over
 a Hole, pretended, by her secret Parts, to
 receive the Spirit (for, as *Origen* says *,
 their Gods delight in nothing more,
 ἢ τοῖς κόλποις τῶν γυναικῶν, *than in the bosoms*
of Women) which having swell'd and
 possess'd her with a divine Fury, em-
 power'd her to utter her Oracles †. By
 their delivering their Responses after this
 manner, they had the Advantage of being
 less liable to lose their Reputation if they
 should prove false; for in that case their
 Consulters might attribute it to their not
 rightly hearing or understanding what
 they utter'd. And to this perhaps
 it was in some measure owing that
 their Cheat lasted so long; for we not
 only find them in the Apostles Time ‡,
 but *Eugabinus*, *Rhodiginus* ||, *Fagius* **

* Cont. Celsus, l. vii.

† See Byerus on Selden p. 226.

‡ Act. xvi. 16.

|| Antiq. Lect. l. viii. c. 10.

** On Lev. xix. 31.

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and *Oleaster* do all of them tell us that they met with them in theirs.

BUT, after all, *Obb* may signify a *Serpent*, tho it is not taken notice of by the generality of our Lexicographers; and accordingly *Obb* and *Obboth* are always render'd in the old *Latin* Version, by *Pytho* and *Pythones*, which signify a *Serpent* or *Serpents*: being, as is generally agreed, deriv'd either from the *Hebrew* *Pethen*, or the *Syriack* *Pithun*, both which signify a *Serpent*. And it may be, the Word *Obb* being us'd for a *Serpent*, and pronounc'd by some *Ofb*, the *Greeks* took from it their *ὄφις*, a *Serpent*. *Obb* being the Word proper to signify a *Serpent*, and the *Egyptians* using to divine by *Serpents*, it came to be given to such *Spirits*, as they suppos'd possess'd them, and fitted them for Divination; and from thence became a general Name for all *divining Spirits*, and especially such, as their *Impostors* pretended to have a Familiarity with. As the Word *Seirim*, which properly signifies *Goats*, was given to *Devils*, because, as the *Jews* suppos'd, the *Devils* appear'd to their *Worshippers* under their Form. This Interpretation being admitted, we may suppose, that God by those Precepts, *Regard not them who*
L 2 *have*

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*have familiar Spirits **, and that there should not be found amongst them a *Consulter with a familiar Spirit †*, and his commanding all such, and those who had any Recourse to them, to *be cut off ‡*, intended to take away and abolish all that religious Respect and Veneration which the *Egyptians* and other Nations had for *Serpents*, as the Symbol or Habitation of some prophesying Deity; and to teach his People, that they were to be so far from giving any Credit to such as pretended to an Intercourse with these Demons, that they were upon no Account whatsoever to consult them, or give any countenance to them.

THAT the Antients believ'd *Serpents* possessed by some prophesying Deity, is plain from numberless Instances. *Servius* tells us ||, that the Old *Egyptians* call'd *Serpents* *αγαθὸι δαίμονες*; to which agrees that of *Ovid*,

— *Cum cristis aureus altis*
In Serpente Deus prænuncia Sibila misit.
Met. l. xv. v. 669.

* Lev. xix. 31.
† Deut. xviii. 11.
‡ Lev. xx. 6, 27.
|| In *Georg.* iii. v. 417.

And *Sanctioniatho* says * both of the *Phænicians* and *Egyptians*, that they attributed a Divinity to *Serpents*. *Herodotus* † tells us of the *Athenians*, that they “ say the “ *Acropolis* is guarded by a great Serpent “ kept in the Temple ; and as if the “ thing had been true, they every Month “ brought thither a certain Quantity of “ Paste mixt with Honey ; which in “ former Time having always been consumed, now remain’d” (speaking of *Xerxes’s* invading *Greece*) “ entire and “ untouch’d. So that when the Priestess “ had given notice of this Event, the “ *Athenians* were willing to leave the “ City, because they concluded the God “ had abandon’d the Fortress.” And therefore *Alexander*, *Lucian’s* false Prophet, when he had made the *Paphlagonians* believe that a God would make his Appearance to them, produc’d a *Serpent*, which they receiv’d and reverenc’d as such.

MOSES charges this Superstition as one of those *Abominations* for which God drove the *Canaanites* out of the Land ‡ : and that the *Egyptians* were guilty of it

* Apud Euseb. Præp. Evan. l. i. c. 10.

† L. viii.

‡ Deut. xviii. 12.

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as well as they, is plain from *Isaiab's*
 * Prophecy against their Nation: *They*
shall seek to the Idols, and to the Charmers,
and to them that have familiar Spirits,
and to the Wizards. And the Egyptian
 City *Pithom*, which we meet with *Exod.*
i. 11. had, it may be, its Name from its
 being famous for such as pretended to
 consult with these Spirits.

THE practising of these Impostures,
 and the applying to the Practisers of
 them, were certainly very great Crimes,
 as is plain from *Deut. xviii. 11.* and
1 Chron. x. 13. And we may fairly
 conclude from that Precept, *Deut. iv.*
18. where God forbids the making
the likeness of any Thing that creepeth on
the Ground, which Interpreters commonly
 understand of *Serpents*, that they had
 practis'd these Superstitions before the
 giving of the Law. Nay, it may be
 suspected that this Practice was very
 common amongst them, and that there-
 fore God forbids it them three times in
 the space of a few Verses, *Lev. xix. 31.*
 and *xx. 6, 27.* And this may be the
 reason why the *Israelites* fell into the
 Worship of the *brazen Serpent*, which
 had been made and set up for a quite

different Cause, even to confer upon them the divine Goodness and Mercy.

BUT, after all, we have so little said in Scripture of these Impostures, more than a bare mention of Names without any Definitions given us, that we must not pretend to much Certainty in our Account of them. Yet it is, I think, very plain, that they were the Practices by which the Idolaters of those Times took the Minds of Men off from their Dependance on the true God and his Providence; and, under Pretence of satisfying their vain Curiosity, impos'd on their Credulity, and fix'd in them an Opinion of their false Objects of Worship, their Stars, Demons, &c.

THIS Inclination, which *Manasseh* and the Pagans constantly shew'd for *Divinations*, *Incantations*, and the like, was not so great a Reflection on their Understanding and Wisdom, as it may, at first perhaps, seem to be; it was agreeable enough to their Notions of Religion, and no more than just finding Employment for their Gods, and taking care that such Deitys as were of their own Creation, should not enjoy an idle Immortality. I have already taken notice of the Method they took in stocking Hea-

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ven with Deitys; their Religion was so calculated that each City might deify any eminent Citizen, and each Man his Ancestor, as suited their Abilitys and Merit; every one sacrificing to what Person of Renown he pleas'd. And over and above these, they rank'd, as plainly appears from *Plato* *, every wise and good Man, after his Decease, in an Order something inferior to the Gods, which they call'd *Demons*; and having once imagin'd such a Set of Deitys, and such a Species of Beings as were of a degree between the Gods and Men; it was not long before they found out for them an Employment suitable to such Divinitys:

" Demons, says *Plato* †, are of a middle
 " Nature between the Gods and Men.
 " The Correspondence between Heaven
 " and Earth is carried on by them. The
 " Things of this World they represent
 " and convey from Men to the Gods,
 " and divine Things from the Gods to
 " Men: for Instance, the Prayers and
 " Sacrifices of the one; Commands, religious Rites, Appointments and Ordinances from the other. The nature
 " of them being of a middle kind be-

* *In Cratylo,*

† *In Convivio,*

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“ tween both, fills up the Whole, and,
 “ as a Link in a Chain, connects the
 “ Universe with itself.” This it may
 be, was at first the whole of the *Demon's*
 Office, but as Superstition encreas'd, they
 had a much larger Field given them to
 act in. *Plato* goes on and says, “ By this
 “ all kind of Prophecy is carried on, to
 “ this is owing the Diligence and Appli-
 “ cation of Priests about Sacrifices, Ex-
 “ piations, Incantations, and Divinations.
 “ The God indeed has no Communica-
 “ tion or Intermixture with human Na-
 “ ture; but by this Canal a Commerce
 “ and Correspondence is maintained be-
 “ twixt the Gods and Men. Whoever
 “ is versed in these matters is call'd
 “ *Δαιμόνιος*; that is, a happy and a wise
 “ Man *.” Agreeable to this is the Ac-
 count which *Diogenes Laertius* gives us of
 the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*: “ The whole
 “ Air is filled with Spirits, or Souls of
 “ Men, we call them Demons and He-
 “ roes; 'tis from the Impressions which
 “ they make upon us, that our Dreams
 “ proceed, and those Forebodings which
 “ we have of our Health or bodily In-

* See *Plato's Sympos. Epinomis, Timæus, &c.* This Opinion is likewise well express'd by one of *Plutarch's* Disputants in his Ceasing of Oracles.

“ dispositions;

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“ dispositions ; which is an Office they
 “ perform, not only unto Men, but to
 “ the rest of the animal Creation. To
 “ them likewise is owing our Skill in
 “ Lustrations, Vaticination, and our other
 “ Abilitys of a like nature.”

THIS was a Doctrine so beneficial to
 their Priests, that it could not but be
 improv'd to their Advantage : It was
 only filling the silly and deluded Multi-
 tude with Panicks and Consternations, to
 gain farther Power over their Under-
 standings and Consciences, to exhibit new
 Modes of Religion, and introduce *Mys-
 terys, Initiations, Purifications, &c.*

BUT they stop'd not here: Tales and
 Fables were obtruded on the ignorant
 People. The Effects of Nature, as im-
 prov'd by Art, were ascrib'd to super-
 natural Causes, and Advances in Philo-
 sophy imputed to Magick and the Power
 of Demons. Thus *Plutarch* tells us *,
 “ That *Aganice* the Daughter of *Hegetor*,
 “ a *Thessalian* Lord, understanding the
 “ Reason of the Moon's Eclipses, her
 “ being obscured by the Shadow of the
 “ Earth, made the credulous Women be-

* Conjugal Precepts.

“ lieve that it was she, who, at those
 “ Times, unhing’d the Moon, and re-
 “ mov’d her from the Sky.” And the
 same Story * he gives us again. There
 is no doubt but all those Fables of
Bringing up the Dead, Witchcrafts, &c.
 flowed from the same Fountain. Im-
 postors, having, it may be, at first, by
 these Means, acquir’d some Reputation,
 and perceiving that the Inclination of the
 People was not to find out Truth, con-
 cluded that a lucky Falshood, or useful
 Lie, might contribute to their own Re-
 putation, as well as to the Pleasure of
 the credulous. And as People were
 weak enough to give Credit to them,
 there were Cheats enough to practise
 upon their Credulity.

THIS, as I just now said, was a Doc-
 trine very beneficial to their *Priests*. But
 by Priests, I do not mean a Clergy. The
 Directors in Religion, in those very an-
 cient Times, were such as had the su-
 preme Power in civil Affairs, who taught
 the People their religious Rites and Cere-
 monys, as well as gave them Laws to be
 govern’d by. In this the History of every
 heathen Nation, which is come down to

* Of the Ceasing of Oracles.

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us, is agreed. There was then no such thing as Priests, in the Sense we now use the Word. *Romulus* appointed that the King should have the supreme Administration in every thing which related to Religion, and that the religious Officers under him should be of such as were remarkable for their Nobility *. And we are told that the religious Settlement at *Rome* was agreeable to the *Greek* Plan †. And the *Egyptian* and *Asiatic* Priesthood was plac'd in the same Hands. Such was the publick Establishment of Religion; while the Father, or Head of every Family, agreeably to what seems to have been the original divine Institution, was Priest, presided in religious Offices, and sacrific'd, at his domestic Altar, for his own Family and Kindred and such as depended immediately upon him. But of this I shall say no more, it being a Point which has with great Learning been fully treated of by an excellent Person ‡, whom I have often had occasion to refer to.

WHAT therefore I mean is, that Kings, and such as were in Authority,

* Dionys. Halicar. Ant. Rom. l. ii. § 13.

† Ibid. § 63.

‡ Mr. Shuckford, l. vi.

having

having the Offices of Religion in their Hands made use of them as Engines of State to manage the Populace as the publick Good requir'd *. 'Twas their business to govern the simple and ignorant Herd; and they were so quick-sighted as to perceive that the Superstition of the People was to be us'd to their Advantage, to subdue Mens Minds and lead them tamely captive. As the People despis'd naked Truth, and paid a profound Respect to mysterious Error, Politicians set their Brains to work to invent new Delusions, either to intimidate or raise their drooping Spirits. This I believe to have been *Plutarch's* Opinion: " Good Gods! " says that Philosopher †, How hard is " it to find a Man free from Vanity and " Superstition? For some are betray'd " into those Foolerys by their Ignorance and Weakness; others, that they

* This was plainly *Tully's* Opinion, " Non enim fumus, *says he*, ii nos Augures, qui Avium, reliquorum-
 " ve Signorum Observatione futura dicamus:—errabat
 " enim multis in Rebus Antiquitas, quam vel Ufu jam, vel
 " Doctrinâ, vel Vetustate immutatam videmus; retinetur
 " autem, & ad Opinionem Vulgi, & ad magnas Utilitates
 " Reipublicæ, Mos, Religio, Disciplina, Jus Augurum,
 " Collegii Autoritas." And in another Place he says,
 " Existimo Jus Augurum, etsi Divinationis Opinione Principio constitutum sit, tamen postea Reipublicæ Causâ conservatum ac retentum." *De Divinat.* l. ii.

† Socrates's Dæmon.

" may

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“ may be thought extraordinary Men,
 “ and Favourites of Heaven, refer all
 “ their Actions to some divine Admoni-
 “ tion, pretending Dreams, Visions, and
 “ the like, for every thing they do.
 “ This method indeed is advantageous to
 “ those who intend to settle a Common-
 “ wealth, or are forc'd to keep them-
 “ selves up against a rude and ungovern-
 “ able Multitude; for by the Bridle of
 “ Superstition, they can manage and re-
 “ form the Vulgar. But these Pretences
 “ seem not only unbecoming Philosophy,
 “ but quite opposite to those fine Pro-
 “ mises she makes.” The blind side of
 human Nature being thus found out,
 the Nail was driven home, and there
 soon appear'd *Diviners, Charmers, Witches,*
Wizards, Inchanters, Magicians, Necro-
mancers, and such like Impostors, who
 were generally expert enough in imposing
 on a credulous People.

BUT tho the Pagan Religion natu-
 rally led its Professors to give Credit to
 such a multitude of false Pretenders, we
 cannot say so of a Religion reveal'd by
 God. The *Jewish* Revelation, as we
 have seen, was so far from countenancing
 these Superstitions, that it commanded
 the abolishing them on Pain of Excision;
 and the *Christian* in this Particular con-
 firms

firm the Law and the Prophets. So little Reason has a late Author to assert, that these Revelations have been * *the Occasion of all Superstition*. We must confess indeed that the consulting of these Impostors, is a Disease with which many have been infected in all Ages and Nations; Princes and mean Persons, the Learned as well as the Vulgar; but it is so far from being owing to, that 'tis occasion'd by the not following the Light of the Gospel. The Fathers, Councils and Synods, are an evident Proof of the Church's, as well as the Scripture's, endeavouring their Destruction. The Statute pass'd in the beginning of our King *James* the First's Reign, which makes these Impostors guilty of Felony, and the too many Prosecutions there have been upon it, shew that we have not been long cur'd of this Folly. But sound Philosophy, and an exact and careful Study of the Scriptures, may at last put an end to such superstitious Errors, and set us truly free.

BUT to return to *Manasseh's* Impiety. It proceeded still farther; and as *Abaz* has been suppos'd to have dedicated his

* Christianity as old as the Creation, c. viii.

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Son to *Molech* by making him *pass thro' the Fire*, this Prince went to the highest Pitch of Wickedness which an enthusiastick Religion cou'd inspire, and sacrific'd his to that Idol: Tho it may be, he too was guilty of the same Crime with *Abaz*; and as he sacrific'd one of his Sons, he dedicated or consecrated the rest in the manner we have describ'd. For we are told, that * *he caus'd his Children to pass thro' the Fire in the Valley of the Son of Hinnom*; which is generally understood of the Rite of Initiation. But in 2 *Kings* xxi. 6. there is notice taken only of one of his Sons, whom he is said to *have made to pass thro' the Fire*; which is to be understood of his burning him in Sacrifice to *Molech*. This indeed is a surprizing piece of Idolatry, and sufficiently shews their Religion to be Impiety, and the Spirit of their Devotion the greatest of Crimes. But that the *Jews* were guilty of it in this King's Reign, is plain from the Description *Jeremiab* gives us of their Idolatry: † *They have built the High-Places of Tophet, which is in the Valley of the Son of Hinnom, to burn their Sons and their*

* 2 *Chron.* xxxiii. 6.

† *Chap.* vii. 31.

Daughters in the Fire. And again *,
They have built also the High-Places of
Baal, to burn their Sons with Fire for
Burnt-Offerings unto Baal. Both which
 Places do so plainly express a true and
 perfect Burning and Sacrifice, that they
 can be no otherwise understood or inter-
 preted.

THE Place where this inhuman Rite
 was perform'd, was a Valley not far
 from *Jerusalem*, on the Brook *Kidron*, in
 the Southern Limits of the Tribe of *Ben-*
jamin. 'Twas call'd *Tophet* †, from
Toph the Hebrew Name for the *Tympa-*
num or *Sistrum* which the Priests play'd
 upon to drown the Cries of the Victims;
 and the *High-Place* of *Tophet* ‡, because
 the Altar there was built after the same
 manner with those which the *Heathens*
 erected to their heavenly Gods, and
 which we before describ'd. It was like-
 wise call'd in the Hebrew, *Gee Hinnom*,
 i. e. the *Valley of Hinnom*, or the *Valley of*
the Son of Hinnom ||; from whence the
 word *Gebenna*, which signifies *Hell*, is de-

* Chap. xix. 5.

† Isa. xxx. 33. and Jer. vii. 31, 32. and xix. 6, 11,
 &c.

‡ Jer. vii. 31.

|| Josh. xv. 8. and 2 Kings xxiii. 10.

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riv'd; the Sacrifices there offer'd being a lively Picture of Hell-Torments. 'Twas defil'd by King *Josiah*, who, to render it odious and detestable, commanded all manner of Filth and dead Mens Bones to be thrown into it, *that no Man might make his Son or his Daughter to pass thro' the Fire to Molech* *.

THE *Jews* learn'd these barbarous Sacrifices of the *Canaanites*, as is plain from *Pf. cvi. 37, 38. They sacrific'd their Sons and their Daughters unto Devils, and shed innocent Blood, even the Blood of their Sons and their Daughters, whom they sacrific'd unto the Idols of Canaan*; as likewise from *Lev. xx. 2.* where this horrid Impiety, amongst other *Canaanitish* Practices, is forbid under Pain of Death.

BUT the *Canaanites* were far from being the only Pagans who were guilty of this unnatural Barbarity. † “ In the
“ early Times, when Nations were yet
“ barbarous and savage, there was ever
“ an Aptness or Tendency towards the
“ dark part of Superstition, which among
“ many other Horrors produc'd that of

* 2 Kings xxiii. 10.

† *Characteristicks, Vol. III. p. 124.*

“ human

“ human Sacrifice ;” which was so universal, that there is nothing in which Men seem to have been more generally agreed, as is plain to every one who is the least vers’d in * Antiquity. I shall only observe, that the *Egyptians* seem to have been the first who reform’d in this point, this Practice being abolish’d by *Tethmosis* before *Abraham’s* coming † amongst them ; wherefore *Egypt* is never accus’d of it, either by *Moses* or the Prophets : and that it seems to have been retain’d ‡ longer by the *Druids* than any other *European* Religionists. *Procopius Cæsariensis* ||, who flourish’d in the 6th Century, affirms that these Sacrifices were offer’d by them in *Gaul* in his Time. And we may suppose that they retain’d their Religion as long in this Island, which was farther from *Rome*, and the Nursery, or, if you will, the University

* They who have an Inclination to see how common these Sacrifices were, may consult the Authors quoted by *Selden de Diis Syris Synt.* i. c. 6. *Grotius* on *Deut.* xviii. 10. *Isaac Vossius de Orig. Idol.* l. ii. c. 5. *Dion. Vossius* on *Matmon. de Idol.* c. vi. 1. 5. *Ludovicus Vives’s* Notes on *St. Aug. de Civit. Dei*, l. vii. c. 19. *Ouzelius & Elmenhorstius’s* Notes on *Min. Felix*, and *Tiraquellus* on *Alex. ab Alex.* *Spencer de Leg. Hebr.* l. ii. c. 13. § 3. and *Fabricius, Bibliographia Ant.* c. 9. § 3.

† *Bedford’s* Scripture Chronology, l. iii. c. 4. § 79.

‡ *Selden’s* *Epinomis*, c. 2.

|| *De Bello Goth.* l. ii.

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of those Priests: For tho *Julius Cæsar* brought under and subjected our Ancestors to a Tribute, he left them in the Possession of their Religion and Laws, which they enjoy'd not only under him, but the succeeding Emperors, till they were taken away by *Claudius*. It is plain from *Dion Cassius*, that our Country enjoy'd its own Laws in his Time, by his giving the People the Epithet *αὐτονομος* *, i. e. *using their own Laws*; and *Seneca* the Tragedian speaks † of them as enjoying them in *Claudius's* Time. But that Emperor chang'd the Face of Affairs; he left our Ancestors indeed in Possession of their Estates, but reduc'd the Island to a præsidial Province, as appears from several antique Inscriptions exhibited by Mr. *Selden* ‡. Religion it may be had then the same Fate as our Constitution. It is certain that *Druidism* was abolish'd by that Prince in *Gaul* as the greatest Immanity. *Druidarum Religionem apud Gallos*, says *Suetonius* ||, *diræ Immanitatis, & tantum Civibus sub Augusto interdictam, penitus abolevit*. This

* L. lx.

† In *Octav. Act* i.

‡ *Epinomis*. c. ii.

|| *Chap. xxv.*

is confirm'd by *Seneca* *; and *Strabo* expressly tells us †, that it was because the *Druids* offer'd human Sacrifices, that the *Romans* endeavour'd the Destruction of their Religion. What *Suetonius* says of *Augustus's* prohibiting this Religion, is no more than what *Tiberius* did: *Tiberii Caesaris Principatus sustulit Druidas Gallo-*rum, says *Pliny* ‡; it refer'd only to *Rome*, as || *Lipsius* has observ'd, But tho we meet with the *Druids* in *Lampridius*, *Vopiscus*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, after *Claudius's* Time, there is nothing in any of those Authors to make one think their Religion was protected by Law. But to return,

THIS horrid Impiety had probably its Rise from what they believ'd of their Gods; they found the most monstrous Crimes and direful Wickednesses recorded of them in their Historys; and to these they thought themselves oblig'd to suit the Worship they paid them. *Lucian* **, as we have seen, having describ'd their enormous Extravagancies, says of them, " This

* Apocolocyntosis.

† L. iv.

‡ Nat. Hist. l. xix. c. 10.

|| Comment. ad Tiberium Tacit. Annal. xii.

** Of Sacrifices.

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“ is the Life the Gods lead, and the
 “ whole System of the divine Worship
 “ has been form'd agreeable to the ex-
 “ travagant Ideas the World has fram'd
 “ of them.” They offer'd their Children
 to *Saturn*, because, according to their
 Creed, he had devour'd his own. “ As
 “ *Saturn*, says *Turtullian* *, did not spare
 “ his own Children, so he persisted in
 “ not sparing those of other People;
 “ for Parents offer'd up their own Chil-
 “ dren to him.” But it may perhaps
 be a better Reason, that they were at
 first induc'd to offer these Sacrifices from
 an Opinion that there ought to be some
 Equality and Proportion between the
 Sacrifice and the Person who was to be
 thereby reconcil'd to the God: and he
 being a Man, they concluded the Sacri-
 fice therefore should be of human Race.
 And accordingly *Micah*, where he intro-
 duces the People as anxiously inquisitive
 how they might propitiate God's Dis-
 pleasure and avert his Judgments, makes
 them, agreeably to this Custom of the
 Heathens, ready to offer † *their First-
 born for their Transgression, the Fruit of
 their Body for the Sin of their Soul.* And

* In Apolog.

† Chap. vi. 7.

Cæsar tells us * of the *Gauls*, " Those
 " who are afflicted with any grievous
 " Distemper, or whose Lives are hazard-
 " ed in War, or exposed to other Dan-
 " gers, either offer up Men for Sacrifices,
 " or vow so to do; and they make use
 " of the *Druids* for their Priests upon
 " such occasions, imagining their Gods
 " are to be satisfied no other way for
 " sparing their Lives, than by offering
 " up the Life of another Man." And
 therefore it is that we find these Sacrifices
 generally made in Times of the greatest
 Distress, when they hop'd to pacify their
 angry Gods by offering them what was
 dearest to them. " Among the Antients,
 " says *Philo Biblius* †, it was held for a
 " standing Rule, that in extraordinary
 " Calamities of the Commonwealth,
 " those in whose Hands the Administra-
 " tion of Affairs was, should have the
 " dearest of their Children offer'd up to
 " avenging Spirits, that by their Blood,
 " as by a Price or Compensation, the
 " Ruin of the Publick might be bought
 " off." And so *Justin* tells us ‡ of the
Carthaginians; " When among other

* L. vi.

† Apud Euseb. Præp. Evan. l. iii. c. 16.

‡ L. xviii.

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" Calamities they were visited with a
 " Pestilence, they made use of a most
 " bloody and inhuman kind of religious
 " Rite, by way of Remedy, to remove
 " it. For they offer'd up humane Sa-
 " crifices, they brought even Children
 " (whose tender Age raises pity even in
 " an Enemy's Heart) to their bloody
 " Altars; imploring the Mercy of the
 " Gods by spilling the Blood of those,
 " for the sparing of whose Lives their
 " Prayers us'd chiefly to be put up."
 These inhuman Sacrifices were offer'd on
 the like occasions in *America*, as appears
 from what *Acosta* tells us*: " Whenever
 " the *Inca* King of *Peru* was troubled
 " with any Disease, or was concern'd for
 " Success in War, or other Affairs, the
 " *Peruvians* sacrificed ten Children from
 " four to six Years of Age; and upon
 " his Coronation Day they sacrific'd to
 " the number of 200, from four to ten
 " Years of Age. When the Father was
 " sick, his Son was sacrific'd to the Sun,
 " or *Viriachocha*, praying him to be con-
 " tented with the Son and spare the
 " Father." You may meet with an
 Account of the prodigious Slaughter of
 Men sacrific'd to the Idols of *Peru* and

* History of the *Indies*, l. v. c. 19.

Mexico, before the *Spaniards* put an end to it, and sacrific'd a like, or greater number, to their blind Zeal and *Popish* Superstition, in *Viginere's* Notes on *Cæsar's Comment.* p. 317. and in *Montaigne's* *Essays*, l. i. c. 19. But of this enough.

THE Goodness of Almighty God, to reform his People, call'd, at this Time, *Nabum*, *Habakkuk*, *Zephaniah*, *Huldah*, *Uriah*, and particularly *Jeremiah*, to the prophetick Office; all of whom by their Preaching, and Foretelling the Destruction and Desolation, which were coming upon them for the Sins they were guilty of, would have incited the People to forsake their Iniquitys. But all in vain: they continued still in their Idolatry. A Reformation of Religion was indeed attempted by King *Josiah*; but the People, as may be gather'd from the 11th and 12th Chapters of *Jeremiah*, tho they complied outwardly with their Prince, were private Idolaters, and turn'd but feignedly to the Lord*. God therefore, out of Tenderness to the Piety and Goodness of the King, permitted him not to see the Miserys which were to befall the Nation; But he being slain in Battle at

* Jer. iii. 10.

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Megiddo, all the Glory and Happiness of the Kingdom fell with him, and nothing ensued but those Judgments and Calamitys which had been decreed, till the Kingdom itself ended in the most miserable Destruction.

THE Princes who succeeded, and their People, seem to have liv'd in a kind of Competition with one another in Wickedness and Idolatry, and to have given a Loose to the Wildness of their Imaginations. The View of the Temple, which God gave *Ezekiel* (whom he sent at that Time to be his Prophet amongst those who had been carried captive to *Babylon*) shews the Abominations which were there committed. In his Vision, he saw at his Entrance into the Courts of the Priests, an Image * set up to provoke God to Jealousy: At another Gate, Women † bewailing their deified dead Princes: The High-Priest, with the Heads of the 24 Courses of the Priests, who should have been serving at God's Altar, ‡ turning their Backs upon it, and worshiping the rising Sun: The whole *Sanhedrim* or great Council,

* Ezek. viii. 3, 5.

† Ver. 14.

‡ Ver. 16.

and

and *Jaazaniab* their chief, practising all manner of Idolatrys; and having the Room they met in pourtraited with * every Form of creeping Things, and abominable Beasts, and all the Idols of the House of Israel, upon the Wall round about. This was agreeable to the Superstition of the ancient *Egyptians* and *Troglodytes*. *Philastrius* tells us of the like Custom amongst the latter of these; and *Diodorus* † describing a very magnificent Temple at *Thebes*, which was built for the Sepulchre of one of the first Kings of *Egypt*, says, "That round the Room where the King's Body lay, are many Apartments, wherein are to be seen, in curious Painting, all the Beasts which are accounted sacred in *Egypt*." These abominable Wickednesses brought upon *Jerusalem* and her People the utmost Fury of God's Wrath, and finish'd the absolute Ruin of that Kingdom; which was brought to utter Desolation for its Idolatry, 388 Years after the falling off of the ten Tribes, and 134 Years after the Destruction of the Kingdom of *Israel*.

HAVING already taken notice how providential this Captivity was, in giving

* *Ver.* 10.

† *L. i. c. 4.*

other Countrys an opportunity of coming to a Knowledge of the true God and his Worship; the Founders and Reformers of so many different Religions visiting *Babylon* during the seventy Years of this Captivity: We have no more to observe here, but that the Destruction of the *Jewish* Government, and the Afflictions it brought upon that People, had its natural and proper Effect, and cur'd them of that Infatuation they had always, till then, shewn for the Superstitions and Idolatrys of their Neighbours. During this Continuance of their Punishment in a strange Land, they had time to consider and reflect how visibly the miraculous Hand of God had been exerted on their behalf, whenever they liv'd in a dutiful Submission and Obedience to him and his Laws; and how evidently Punishment follow'd close to their Sin, upon their Revolting from him. Their Reformation was so compleat, that we do not find that they were any more reproach'd, as they had been before, with Idolatry; and notwithstanding the Persecutions they suffer'd, after their Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, on Account of Religion, they never once swerv'd from the Service of their God. They were zealous enough for his Worship, unless it were some few, who obey'd the Com-
mands

mands of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; the Generality of the People kept themselves free from those Impietys, which had drawn down so many Calamityes upon their Forefathers.

THIS Alteration in that perverse and stiff-necked People, is the more surprising, in that, when they shew'd such a Proneness to Idolatry, they had a continual Succession of Prophets amongst them, who back'd their Instructions, Admonitions, and Threatnings with the working of Miracles: But, now when Prophecy was ceas'd, and there was no more a miraculous Power seen amongst them, they are firm and constant in their Religion, and great Sticklers for the Law of *Moses*. This is clearly accounted for by Dean *Prideaux*: * " If it be examin'd
 " into, says he, how it came to pass,
 " that the *Jews* were so prone to Idolatry
 " before the *Babylonish* Captivity, and
 " so strongly and cautiously, even to
 " Superstition, fixed against it after that
 " Captivity, the true reason hereof will
 " appear to be, that they had the Law
 " and the Prophets every Week constantly
 " read unto them after that Capti-

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" tivity, which they had not before.
 " For before that Captivity they having
 " no Synagogues for publick Worship
 " or publick Instruction, nor any Places
 " to resort to for either, unless the Tem-
 " ple at *Jerusalem* or the Citys of the
 " *Levites*, or to the Prophets, when
 " God was pleas'd to send such among
 " them; for want hereof great Igno-
 " rance grew among the People: God
 " was little known among them, and his
 " Laws in a manner wholly forgotten.
 " And therefore, as occasions offer'd,
 " they were easily drawn into all the
 " Superstitions and Idolatrous Usages of
 " the neighbouring Nations, that liv'd
 " round about them, till at length, for
 " the Punishment hereof, God gave them
 " up to a dismal Destruction in the *Baby-*
 " *lonish* Captivity. But after that Capti-
 " vity, and the Return of the *Jews* from
 " it, Synagogues being erected among
 " them in every City, to which they
 " constantly resorted for publick Wor-
 " ship, and where every Week they had
 " the Law from the first, and after that
 " from the time of *Antiochus's* Persecu-
 " tion, the Prophets also read unto them,
 " and were by Sermons and Exhortations,
 " there deliver'd, at least every Sabbath,
 " instructed in their Duty, and excited
 " to the Obedience of it; this kept them
 " in

“ in a thorough Knowledge of God and
“ his Laws. And the Threats which
“ they found in the Prophets against the
“ Breakers of them, after these also came
“ to be read among them, deterred them
“ from transgressing against them. So
“ that the Law of *Moses* was never more
“ strictly observed by them, than from
“ the Time of *Ezra* (when Synagogues
“ first came into use among them) to the
“ time of our Saviour.”



C H A P. IV.

Of the Idolatry of the heathen World. Their gross Notions of the Deity. Jesus Christ came into the World to reform it. Mahometism, a Christian Heresy. Our Saviour enabled his Apostles to effect a Reformation, which the Philosophers could not do. Of the Morality of the Heathens. Of doing Good, and suffering Evil. Evangelical Purity. The Gospel was sufficiently promulgated. Of the Preaching it in India and Britain. Its Progress a Demonstration of its Truth, and that the Scriptures we now have, are the same as were writ by the Apostles. The Conclusion against
the

*the modern Deists, and an Ob-
jection of theirs answer'd.*

BUT tho the *Babylonish* Captivity had such a happy Effect upon the *Jews*, who return'd from it into their own Country; the heathen World was left in a wretched and miserable Condition, and reap'd but few of those Advantages, which seem to have been intended by Providence, and might have been expected from it. And notwithstanding the many Checks, which, as we have seen, God from time to time gave to Idolatry, even from the first Appearance of it, which, one should have thought, must have kept alive and preserv'd the primitive Tradition and Belief of the one true God only all the World over; the *Jewish* was the only Nation which profess'd such a Belief. The Ignorance of the rest of the World was exceeding great, even a Darkness to be felt. The Unity of the Deity was universally denied; and not only the Gods we have discours'd of, whose Subject has led us to take notice of such only as were the most antient, but abundance of others sprung up and were ador'd. I say, that not only all the Host of Heaven, and such Persons as had been beneficial to Mankind, had divine Honours paid them,

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but the very worst of Men, such as were a Reproach to their Species, were added to the number.

BUT they stop'd not there; *Wine, Corn, Fruits*, and the like, were worship'd as Gods: every thing, as *Tully* tells us *, from which Men reap'd any Advantage, or which was useful and profitable to them, was consider'd, not as the Invention or Gift of the Gods, but as Divinitys themselves. And over and above these, not only every Quality esteemable and praise-worthy, such as *Virtue, Honour, Concord, Liberty*, &c. was deified, but this impious Worship sunk so low, as to leave no Object so despicable, as not to be thought worthy of divine Honours; not only *Mountains, Rivers, Plants*, &c. but such things as it would be even a shame to mention were rank'd in the number of their Gods. The *Romans* dedicated Temples and Altars to † a Fever, and ill Fortune, as the *Athenians* did to Contumely and Impudence. They who brought Arts and Sciences to the greatest Perfection, surpass'd the rest

* Nat. Deor. l. i.

† Valer. Max. l. ii. c. 5. Tully de Nat. Deor. l. iii. and de Leg. l. ii. Plinii Hist. l. ii. c. 7.

of Mankind in this particular. There was no place in Rome, as we learn from Livy, which was not fill'd with Gods and Sacrifices. Orpheus * could reckon up no more Gods than there were Days in the Year; and in Hesiod's Time they were but † τρις μυρια, thirty thousand; but the Romans, in Varro's, had no less than three hundred Jupiters ‡, and thirty thousand Deitys of one kind or another; and when Bruxillus the Philosopher made his dying Speech to the Senate, two hundred || and eighty thousand Gods.

BUT what added still farther to the miserable Condition of the heathen World, was, their gross and abominable Notion of Divinity. This may in some measure be gather'd from the Multiplicity of their Gods, and what we have already said of the Worship they paid them. And such as Men's Notions of God are, such will their Religion most certainly be. The wrong Conceptions they form'd of the divine Nature, could not therefore but make their Religion absurd and superstitious, poison their

* Theoph. ad Autol. l. iii.

† Oper. & Dier. l. i. v. 250.

‡ Tertul. Apol. c. xiv.

|| See Mission's Travels, Part ii. p. 10.

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Practice, and be of the worst Consequence to their Morals. By endeavouring to suit their Devotion agreeably, and make it acceptable to their Gods, their most solemn Worship was defil'd with the Pollutions of Lust and Drunkenness, not to say the Blood of human Sacrifices. Believing their Gods to be impious and sensual, there was no Vice so detestable as not only to find a Place in their common Conversation, but even in their most solemn Acts of Worship. In short, their Religion was Impiety, and their Devotion a Crime.

THUS strangely had Idolatry, and false Worship, prevail'd, when the infinite Mercy and Goodness of Almighty God once more took Compassion on Mankind, and, by a most surprizing and effectual Method, put an end to the almost infinite Superstitions of the heathen Worship, and all their detestable Rites. God sent his only begotten Son into the World to destroy Idolatry, and to deliver Men from the horrible Slavery of worshiping false Gods, and the Miserys of a mistaken Devotion. The principal End of *Christ's* Coming, was, as St. *John* tells us *, to destroy Idolatry. *For this Pur-*

* 1 John. iii. 8.

pose, says he, the Son of God was manifested that he might destroy (*ὡς λύση*, that he might dissolve or demolish) the Works of the Devil; by which he more especially means the idolatrous * Worship of the Heathens †.

By giving Men a just, perfect, and rational Conception of the divine Nature, he banish'd the Belief of a Multiplicity of Gods, and introduc'd such a Worship as was agreeable to the Perfections of the Divinity and the Reason of Mankind; a Service suitable to the Majesty of his Nature, and the Dignity of our own. By teaching that God is a Spirit, and that they who worship him, are to do it in a manner proper to a spiritual Nature; he not only sham'd all the pompous Solemnitys, and dark and wild Mysterys, of the heathen Religion, but the troublesome and external Observances of the Jewish. In short, our blessed Saviour Christ Jesus, by his Incarnation, and making himself a Sacrifice for Sin, and being the one Mediator between God and Man, demonstrated to the World what Esteem they ought to have of their

* See 1 Cor. vi. 9. and x. vii. and Eph. v. 5.

† See Archbishop Tillotson, Sermon. xvii. Vol. II.

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bloody and barbarous Sacrifices, and that Worship which was founded on a Belief of a Multitude of Mediators and Intercessors by whom they address'd their Prayers to the Deity. And having given us a full and compleat Revelation of the Will of God, to assist and comfort us in the Performance of it, he made known to us the chearful Assurance, that thro' the Efficacy of his Death we might obtain Pardon upon Repentance, Justification thro' Faith, and the Assistance of the divine Spirit to co-operate with our Endeavours. These being free Acts of Mercy, which concern'd not Man in his original State, and which therefore we could come to no Knowledge of from Reason, he evidenc'd the Truth of his Promise of them, as he did the Divinity of his Person and Mission, by such Works as never Man did, and no one could have done, if God had not been with him; by Miracles, wrought in so publick and eminent a manner, that the unbelieving Jews, who were present, and bore the greatest Enmity to him, could not question the Reality of them.

AND 'tis very observable, that we have it no where hinted to us, neither in the Gospels, Acts nor Epistles, that any one Jew or Gentile ever disbelieved the
Miracles

Miracles either of *Christ*, or of his Apostles. Even *Herod*, we are told *, styl'd our Saviour's Miracles, mighty Works. What the *Jews* did was, they rejected *Christ*, as they had done the Prophets God sent amongst them, and objected either his Miracles being perform'd on the Sabbath †, or by the Power of *Beelzebub*, the Prince of the Devils ‡. And in their Writings they declare, "that by
" Virtue of the Name *Shem-Hamepho-*
" *ra*sh, which he stole out of the Tem-
" ple, he rais'd the Dead, and walk'd
" upon the Waters, and cur'd the Lame,
" and cleansed the Lepers ||." Nay, *Josephus*, one of their Historians, has recorded "the Wonders which he wrought,
" and his having been seen alive again
" the third Day after his Crucifixion **," in a manner very much to his Advantage. And the *Talmudists* *†, and other of their antient Writers, have noted the fulfilling of his Prophecy, that if the Believers in his Name should drink any deadly Thing, it should not hurt them ††.

* Mark vi. 14.

† John v. 10, 16.

‡ Mat. ix. 34. and xii. 24.

|| Raym. pug. fid. p. 290.

** Ant. l. xviii. c. 4.

*† Avoda Zara, and Midrasch. Cohebeth.

†† Mark xvi. 18.

AND so likewise the heathen Priests, before whom his Apostles perform'd * their Miracles, never question'd the Reality of them. And the bitterest and most learned primitive Opposers of Christianity, knowing it to be impossible to refute the Evidence in behalf of their Miracles, in Point of Fact, allow'd, as *Celsus*, *Porphyry*, *Hierocles* and *Julian* did, many miraculous Cures, and Works out of the ordinary Course of Nature, to have been wrought by them. But then they attributed them, as *Celsus* † did, to the Art of *Magick*, which they said he had learnt from the *Egyptians*; or else, with *Julian* ‡, they slighted the restoring the Lame to their Limbs, and the Blind to their Sight, as mean Performances. Tho, by the by, even he acknowledg'd St. *Paul* to have every way exceeded all the Cheats and Impostors who went before him. A plain Demonstration that neither the *Jewish* Malice, nor *Heathen* Subtily, was capable of objecting any thing to the Miracles of our Saviour and his Apostles, I mean as to the Truth and Reality of them; for if they could, they

* Acts xiv. 8, &c.

† Apud Orig. cont. Cels. l. ii.

‡ Apud Cyril. adv. Jul. l. vi.

would never have argued in this manner against them; nor have set up, as *Philostratus* and *Hierocles* did, the pretended Performances of *Apollonius Tyaneus* to eclipse the Glory of them.

BUT the Force of Truth, no where more plainly appears, in behalf of our Saviour's Miracles, than in the *Alcoran*, where it extorts a Testimony in Favour of them even from *Mahomet*. I will give you that Impostor's Confirmation of the Miracles of *Christ*, and of some other Truths, as I find it in *Dr. Smith*, who lived several Years in *Turkey* *. "What Opinion the *Turks* have of our blessed Saviour and the *Christian* Religion, I shall briefly shew," says he, "as they lye dispersed in several Chapters of the *Alcoran*, according to which they frame their Discourse, whensoever either Zeal or Curiosity puts them upon this Topic.——By which it will appear how great the Power of Truth is above Imposture and Subtilty; and that as the Devils in the Possessed confest, tho against their Wills, *Christ* to be the Son of God, so this *Demoniack*, in the midst

* Account of the City of *Prusa*, in the *Philosophical Transactions* for Jan. 1683.

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“ of all his Forgerys and Lyes, and ri-
 “ diculous and childish Narratives, not
 “ being able to contradict the universal
 “ Belief of the Christians of that and the
 “ preceding Ages, founded on the History
 “ of the Gospel, hath been forc'd to give
 “ Testimony to several Particulars of it.

“ THEY confess then that *Christ* was
 “ born of a pure, spotless Virgin, the
 “ *Virgin Mary*, chosen by God and sanc-
 “ tified above all the Women in the
 “ World; and that the Angel *Gabriel*
 “ was dispatched out of Heaven to ac-
 “ quaint her with the News of it. That
 “ such a Kind of miraculous and super-
 “ natural Birth never happen'd to any
 “ besides, and that *Christ* was conceived
 “ by the *Holy Ghost*, and that he wrought
 “ mighty Miracles; for Instance, that he
 “ cleansed Lepers, gave Sight to the Blind,
 “ restor'd sick Persons to their Health,
 “ and rais'd the Dead.

“ THAT he is a great Prophet, sent
 “ by God to convert Men from the Va-
 “ nity and Error of false Worship to the
 “ Knowledge of the true God, to preach
 “ Righteousness, and to correct and re-
 “ store the Imperfection and Miscarriages
 “ of human Nature; that he was of a
 “ most holy and exemplary Life, that he
 “ was

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“ was the true Word of God, the Apostle
“ or Ambassador of God; that his Gospel
“ was revealed to him from Heaven, and
“ that he is in Heaven standing nigh to
“ the Throne of God.”

To this account of Dr. Smith, give me
Leave to add what I think still more re-
markable. Dean Addison, who liv'd in
Barbary, has given * us the main Struc-
ture of this execrable Heresy, as Elmacinus,
a Saracen Author, has reduced it to
twelve Articles. The last three of them
are,

“ THAT they believe the Prophets
“ and Apostles, and all the Books that
“ were written by them.”

“ THAT Christ the Son of Mary is
“ the Son of God, his Word, and his
“ Apostle.”

AND, “ That they acknowledge the
“ Law and the Gospel.”

THE Dean tells us likewise, from
Jacob Ben Sidi Ali, an Arabian Author,
that “ the Musulmin believe the Scrip-

* The first State of Mahumedism, ch. 16.

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"tures which were sent to the Apostles ;
 " which are by common Opinion divided
 " into an hundred and four Books ; of
 " which ten were sent to *Adam* ; fifty to
 " *Seth* ; and thirty to *Enoch* (*whom they*
 " *call EDRIS*;) ten to *Abraham* ; the
 " *Law* to *Moses* ; the *Psalms* to *David* ;
 " the *Gospel* to *Jesus Christ* ; and at last
 " the *Alcoran* was sent to *Mahumed*. And
 " all these Books of Scripture they believe
 " to be sent from God, for the Benefit of
 " Men." The *Perſian Mahometans* ad-
 mit * the *Pentateuch*, *Pſalms*, *Prophets*
 and the four *Gospels*, into the Number
 of their ſacred Books ; and thoſe of *Mo-*
rocco †, the *Pentateuch*, *Pſalms* and *Gof-*
pels.

WHOEVER conſiders theſe Things
 muſt own, that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, *Mahome-*
tism is to be look'd upon as a *Chriſtian*
Hereſy, not as a Religion diſtinct from
 that of *Chriſt* ; ſince no one can receive
 the *Alcoran*, but muſt conſequently believe
 our *Scriptures* to be the Word of God. A
 much greater Part of the World is ac-
 quainted therefore with the *Gospel*, than
 is generally ſuppos'd.

* Sanſon. Royaume de Perſe.

† Relation de l'Empire de Maroc, par M. de S. Olon.

BUT the *Mahometans* downing so much of our Religion, not only affords a Testimony to us of the Contents of it, but leaves them without Excuse, who embrace the many Contrarietys and absurd Impertinences contain'd in the *Alcoran*, rather than follow Truth in its immediate and natural Consequences; which, if they were not wanting to themselves, would lead them to profess Christianity. The zealous Reverence they express for their false Scriptures, which prevent their making this Profession, is the more to be admir'd, because they have acquainted themselves with the Nature of that Evidence, upon which only a Revelation is to be received as divine, by their believing, thro' a just Sense of the Force of the Miracles of *Moses* and of *Christ*, so much of the Old and New Testaments. This should have taught them to have rejected the Divinity of such Writings, as did not so much as pretend to any such Foundation for their Authority. For *Mahomet* himself excuses, in his *Alcoran**, his having wrought no Miracles. And tho some of his Followers have attributed many to him: there is not one of them, which is

* Chap. vi. *Idi. qd. bid. qd. bid. qd. bid.*

said to have been publick or incontestable *. And therefore his Followers do not much insist upon them, but excuse the want of Miracles by saying, that *Moses* and *Christ* were both of them sent to shew the Mercy, Goodness and Clemency of God, and that Miracles were necessary for them to attain their End: but that *Mahomet* being sent to manifest the Power of God, 'twas not Miracles, but the Sword, that was necessary for his Mission. But of this enough.

THE Revelation of the Son of God being thus attested by Miracles, nothing remain'd to compleat the Design of his appearing in the World, but to have his Apostles discharge their Commission, and make a sufficient Promulgation of his Religion to the World, which was soon done, in such a strange and surprizing manner, as sufficiently shew'd the divine Attestation. They were indeed perfectly qualified for the Expedition they were sent upon, of an Understanding able to judge of what they were to testify, and exemplary for their Sincerity, Integrity and Virtue, without any Artifice or Design. They had all of them, unless it was

* See Dean *Addison*, *Ibid.* Chap. xxii.

St. Paul, who had a particular Call to his high Office, accompanied their Master thro' the whole of his Preaching and Ministry, and were therefore qualified to be Witnesses of what they had heard and seen; and after his Ascension, were furnish'd with supernatural Assistance in having every Thing brought to their Remembrance, and in being led into all Truth. But the Difficultys which presented themselves, must have deterr'd them from setting out upon their Enterprize, had they not known themselves to have been *endowed with Power from on High. A sufficient Proof that they were inwardly conscious of divine Assistance, as the Success they met with is of the Grace of God co-operating with them. They were but a small Company of plain, mean, simple, obscure Men; without Learning, or any Advantage from Education, to recommend them; without Force of Arms, or any temporal Countenance or Assistance: and were yet to declare the Rulers and Governours of their Country guilty of the innocent Blood of their Master, and to tax them with the Crime of crucifying the Lord of Life; to prevail upon Persons of all Ranks and Conditions, of the greatest

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Parts and Accomplishments, to quit all the Honours, Pleasures and Wealth of the World, for a Life of Self-denial; and to take up the Cross, with no improbable View of suffering upon it; to abandon their present and important Interest, only for the Hopes of a Life after this, and an exalted Degree of Glory in it. Had there been nothing more in the Expedition the Apostles were sent upon, it must have discourag'd them. But how must they be affected, when they considered, that they were to root out the Religion establish'd all the World over, and plant one widely different from it in its Place. Could they, who were unskill'd ^{in the} ~~enticing Words of Man's Wisdom,~~ ever hope to persuade the whole heathen World to renounce the Religion they had been bred up in, a Religion founded on the Corruptions, and suited to the revengeful Temper, and vicious Inclinations, of human Nature, while it was supported by the Power and Countenance of Men in Authority; and instead thereof to receive a Religion pure and spiritual, calculated only to make Men more pious and devout, patient and forgiving? How could they conceive it possible for them, to make

* 1 Cor. ii. 4.

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Men reject the Gods, before whom they and their Fore-fathers had trembled, as *Devils* and *dumb Idols*; to abominate their Temples, their Altars and Sacrifices, and instead of their inveterate Superstition, embrace the Belief of one God only, and expect Salvation thro' the Merits of a crucified Saviour? 'Twas impossible for the Apostles to have set about the Reforming such Errors and Vices, had they not known assuredly that they were furnish'd with supernatural Assistance; that the Power of God was with them. And yet their Work was much greater; more difficult than I shall take upon me to describe: I shall only hint that it can't be better conceiv'd than from considering the miserable State of Religion before their preaching, and the happy Change they effected, which the Scripture has emphatically represented by *Light* and *Darkness* *.

THERE were, 'tis true, some few great Souls in the Pagan World, I mean their Philosophers, who soar'd above the rest, and despis'd the Stupidity of the Vulgar. They sat up for Teachers, and

* Luke i. 79. John iii. 19. and xii. 46. Eph. v. 8. and 1 Theff. v. 5.

our modern Deists think them so perfectly qualified for the Character, as to supersede the Necessity of a Teacher sent by God ; and to supply the Defect in the heathen Religion, of their Priests being bare Sacrificers, not Preachers of natural Religion in their Temples *. But had the very best of them been then living, they would have needed as much Instruction as others. For notwithstanding that their Abilities and Industry in searching after Truth are not to be question'd, and tho they frequently discern'd the Folly of others, their Understandings were not able to lead them to true Wisdom. They were ignorant of the Cause of the Corruption in human Nature ; and if they had known it, the Remedy was not in their Power ; the Disease was too inveterate, to be cur'd by so weak a Medicine as † Philosophy. But to omit this, and that there were very few, and those only of the first Quality and Fortune who resorted to them ; the best of them were not only mistaken in the proper Ends of moral Actions, but injurious in their Opinions to the Nature and Attributes of God. So that had they really

* See the Authors collected by *Fabricius, Biblioth. Ant.* c. xi. § 21.

† See Bishop *Leng's* Sermon. p. 348.

intended the Reformation of Mankind, they were very unqualified for the Undertaking. And then, they were all of them contradictory to one another in most of their Speculations, and in many, to themselves; and if they did, from the Light of Reason, or rather of traditionary Revelation, hit upon some Truths, they were not so sufficiently convinc'd themselves as to be able to persuade others and bring them over to them, but were in great Doubt and full of Perplexity, whenever they asserted them. 'Twould be tedious for me to descend to particulars; and I am fully persuaded that if 'twas sufficiently enquired into, it would appear, that the contradictory Opinions of the Philosophers, and their unsteadiness in asserting Truth, and the forming themselves into so many and so very different Sects, and then wrangling and disputing Truth into Uncertainty, did greater Prejudice to those Principles they had some glimmering Knowledge of from Tradition, than ever they did good in influencing either the Practice or Belief of the Pagan World. But the Uncertaintys and Follies of the Philosophers were soon detected by the Apostles. The Revelation of the Will of God, which they preach'd, was clear, perfect and agreeable to the Dictates of natural Light; they press'd

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the Dutys we owe to God, our Neighbour and ourselves, upon such strong Motives and Principles, as render'd them plain, clear and certain; and this they did, * *not in the enticing Words of Man's Wisdom, but in Demonstration of the Spirit and of Power.* By demonstrating the Being of one Self-existent Principle; who made the World, and governs it by his Providence, interesting himself in the Affairs of Men, and disposing all Events which happen to them; they confuted the Opinion of those, who with ^a *Diagoras Melius* and ^b *Theodorus Cyrenæus*,

* 1 Cor. iv. 4.

^a Nullos esse omnino (Deos) Diagoras Melius, et Theodorus Cyrenæus putaverunt. *Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1.*

Ἐνιοὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, καὶ ὁ Διάδοχος ὁ Μιλήσιος, καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Κυρηνάϊος [καὶ Ἐυήμερος ὁ Τεργαδίτης] καὶ ὁ Λαῖος φασὶ μὴ εἶναι Θεούς. Plut. de Philos. Placit.

Sic licet ille Theodorus Cyrenæus, vel qui prior Diagoras Melius, cui Atheon cognomen apposuit antiquitas, qui uterque nullos Deos asseverando, timorem omnem, quo Humanitas regitur, venerationemque penitus sustulerunt, numquam tamen in hac impietatis disciplina, simulatæ Philosophiæ nomine atque auctoritate pollebunt.

Minucius Felix, p. 67.

Διάδοχος Μήσιος — ἐπεκλήθη δὲ Ἀθεΐστας —

Suidas. And see the Authors quoted by *Prideaux*, Part i. lib. 6.

^b *Cic. Ibidem.*

Minucius Felix, Ibidem.

Ὡς δὲ ὁ Θεόδωρος παντάπασιν ἀναιρῶν τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ εἶναι Θεούς. Laertius in Aristippo.

c held that there was no God, or with Protagoras ^d doubted whether there was any; of the Peripateticks ^e and others ^f, who, as if there had been none ^g believed the World to be eternal; and of the Epicureans, who held it to be made by Chance: of the Stoicks ^h, who would

c Τα περὶ εὐσεβείας δὲ καὶ Θεῶν πεπλήρωται πολλῆς Διαφωτίας. Θεὸς γὰρ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ φασιν εἶναι. Τινὲς δὲ οὐκ εἶναι ὥσπερ οἱ περὶ Διὰ γράσαν τὸν Μήλιον, καὶ Θεόδωρον, καὶ Κριτίαν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον.

Sextus Empiricus, Hyp. l. iii. c. 24.

d Dubitare se Protagoras.

Cic. Ibid.

e Πάλιν Μωσέως γεννητὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον δεισαμένου, Ποιητὴν καὶ Δημιουργὸν τοῖς ὅλοις τὸν Θεὸν ἐπισήσαντος, τῷ τε Πλάτωνος τὰ ἴσα Μωσεί φιλοσοφοῦντος τὴν ἐναντίαν καὶν τυλοῖς ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁδεύσας.

Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. xv. c. 6.

f Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος — οὔτε γῆρσιν, οὔτε φθορῶν ἀπολείπει.

Παριμνίδης ὁ Ἐλεάτης — αἰδίων μὲν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν.

Δημόκριτος ὁ Ἀλκιμαχίδης ὑπέστησεν τὸ πᾶν ἀπειρὸν διὰ τὸ μηδαμῶς ὑπὸ πινυ αὐτὸ διδμημερῆσαι ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ ἀμετάβλητον αὐτὸ λέγει.

Idem. l. i. c. 8.

Ἐπίκουρος [Νεοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος] φησὶ — ὅτι τὸ πᾶν αἰὲν πῦρ καὶ ἕως αἰῶνος.

Μετὰ δὲ οὗτος ὁ Χρῖστος αἰδίων εἶναι φησὶ τὸ πᾶν, ὅτι εἰ μὴ γῆρσιν ἐκ τῆ μὴ ὄντος ἀνὴρ ἀπειρὸν δὲ ὅτι αἰδίων, ἔτι γὰρ ἔχειν ἀρχὴν, ὅθεν ἤρξατο, ἔτι δὲ πέραν ἔτι δὲ τελευτῶν.

Ibid.

g Ξενοφάνης ἀγῶνισεν καὶ αἰδίων καὶ ἀφθαρτον τὸν κόσμον.

Plut. de Philos. Placit. l. ii. c. 4.

h Κατὰ πᾶσιν ἐμαρτύρους καὶ ἀριστήριους χρόνους ἐκπερῶνται τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον. καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πάλιν διακοσμοῦνται τὸ μὴ τοῖς πρώτοις πῦρ εἶναι καθάπερ εἰς π σπέρμα, τῶν ἀπάντων ἔχον τὰς λόγους, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν γεγονότων, καὶ τῶν γινόμενων, καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων τὴν δὲ τέττων ἐπιλοπῆν.

καὶ

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have it to be govern'd by Fate ; as likewise of those ⁱ, who absolutely refus'd a Providence having any Thing to d with the Management of it ^k, and of others ^l, who allow'd Providence to regard no particular or sublunary ^m Being. By establishing the Immortality of the Soul, and a future State of eternal Rewards and Punishments, the Apostles fix'd a Principle ; the main Basis and Support of the good Order and Government of the World, evidently tending to the Happiness and Perfection of Man, and without which Virtue itself is a dead and empty Name. And yet this Principle was either denied or doubted of by the Philosophers. The

καὶ ἀκολουθίαν, καὶ ἐμαρτυρίην, καὶ ἐπιτήμιον, καὶ ἀλήθειαν, καὶ νόμον εἶναι τῶν ὄντων ἀδιάδεστον πᾶσι καὶ ἀφύκτον.

Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. xv. c. 14.

ⁱ Epicureans.

^k Δημόκειτος δὲ, καὶ Ἐπίκουρος, καὶ ὅσοι τὰ ἄτομα εἰσπνύονται καὶ τὸ κενόν, οὗτις προνοία διοικεῖσθαι, φύσει δὲ πᾶσι ἀλόγῳ

Plut. de Philos. Placit. l. ii. c. 3.

^l Aristotelians.

^m Διατείνει δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν προνοίαν μέχρι τῶν ὑπερανίων

Diogenes Laertius, l. v.

Περὶ θεῶν οἱ μὲν πᾶσι εἰσι λέγοντες μὴ δ' εἶναι τὸ θεῖον· οἱ δ' εἶναι μὲν, δ' ἄρῃον δὲ καὶ αἰετὸς, καὶ μὴ προνοεῖν μηδενός· τῶν δ' οἱ καὶ εἶναι, καὶ προνοεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μεγάλων, καὶ ὑπερανίων, τῶν δ' ἐπὶ γῆς, μηδενός.

Arrian. Epictet. l. i. c. 12.

Ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης μέχρι τῆς Σελήνης εἶπεν τὸ θεῖον, τὰ ἡντιῶν τὸ κόσμον μὲν περιγέσσει τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ διοικήσεως

Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. xv. c. 5.

Arif-

Aristotelians ⁿ rejected the Soul's Immortality, in which they had the Approbation of the *Epicureans* and most learned Philosophers°. *Pliny* ^p was of Opinion that neither Soul nor Body, has any more Sense after Death, than before it was born. The *Stoicks* ^q indeed allow'd it some Existence, but not an Immortality, and *Lip-*

ⁿ φοβερύτατος δ' ὁ θάνατος πέρας γάρ· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ περνεῶτι δοκεῖ, οὐτε ἀγαθόν, οὐτε κακὸν εἶναι.

Moral. l. iii. c. 9.

[Ο δὲ] τὴν δαιμονίαν ταύτην φύσιν ἐκποδῶν ποιέμερος, καὶ τὴν γὰρ εἰσαυθις ἐλπίδα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποτέμνων, τὴν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τῶν κρείττονων ἐυλάβειαν ἀφαιρούμερος, τινὰ πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἔχει κοινωνίαν.

Atticus apud. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. xv. c. 5.

Τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ πρῶτος ἐσχερήσας ἀντιτάξασθαι ἀποδείξαι, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφελέειν τῆς ἀθανασίας, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πάσης δυνάμεως; τίς δ' ἕτερος ἢ ὁ Ἀειστοτέλης;

Ibid. c. 9.

— Τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην κατηγορεῖναι μὴ εἶναι περὶ ἀθανασίας τῆς ψυχῆς λόγον. Origen. cont. Cels. l. ii.

^o Sunt qui discessum Animi a Corpore putant esse mortem—Sunt qui nullum censent fieri discessum, sed una Animum et Corpus occidere, Animumque cum Corpore extingui.—Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. i. See Billius in Greg. Naz. Or. 33.

^p Nec magis a morte Sensus ullus aut Corpori, aut Animæ, quam ante Natalem. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vii. c. 55.

^q Sunt qui discedere animum censent, alii statim dissipari, alii diu permanere, alii semper. Cic. Ibid.

Τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ψυχὴν τε καὶ φθαρτὴν λέγουσιν· οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι ἀπαλλαγείσαν φθείρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι μένει τινὰς χρόνους καὶ ἐαυτήν· τὴν μὲν τῶν σπουδαίων μέλει τῆς εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύσεως τῶν πάντων· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀφρονῶν πρὸς πόσους πινὰς χρόνους.

Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. xv. c. 20.

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fius † their Apologist owns it to be a Point which was controverted by them; and *Seneca*, one of them, who flourish'd when his Sect was much improv'd in their Sentiments, says † that their great Men rather flatter'd them with a Promise, than gave them any Proof of it. *Socrates* himself, even at his Death, doubted of it; and both he † and *Cebes* confess'd it to be disbelieved by the greatest Part of Mankind. *Plato* seems to doubt with his Master *Socrates*, and tells us †, that his best Argument in Behalf of it, was from antient

† Utinam Stoici in capitali ista re veraces, et recti.
Phys. Stoic. l. iii. Diff. 11.

† Credebam enim facile opinionibus magnorum virorum, rem gratissimam promittentium magis quam probantium.
Epist. 102.

† Τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ἀπισίαν παρέχει.

Socrat.

Τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πολλὴν ἀπισίαν παρέχει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, μὴ, ἐπειδὴν ἀπαλλαγῇ τῷ σώματι, ἔσται ἐπὶ ἡ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διαφθείρηται τε καὶ ἀπολλύεται, ἢ ἂν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ, εὐθὺς ἀπαλλαττομένη τῷ σώματι, καὶ ἐκβαίνοσα ὥσπερ πνεῦμα ἢ καπνὸς διασκορδιζομένη οἰχέται διαπλαιμένη, καὶ ἔδεν ἐπὶ ἔδαμῳ ἡ. — ἐπεὶ εἶπερ εἴη τὴ αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν συνῆθροισμένη καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένη τούτων τῶν χακῶν, ὧν σὺ νῦν διήλθες, πολλὴ ἂν ἐλπίς εἴη καὶ καλὴ, ὃ Σώκρατες. ὡς ἀληθὴ ἐσιν ἃ σὺ λέγεις· ἀλλὰ τὸτο δὲ ἵσως οὐκ ὀλίγη παραμυθία δέεται καὶ πίσει, ὡς ἐστὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἀποθανόντος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ πᾶσι δύναμιν ἔχει καὶ φρονήσειν. Ἀληθὴ, ἔρη, λέγεις ὁ Σωκράτης, ὃ Κέρης. —

Plato in Phæd.

† Πείθεσθαι δὲ οὕτως αἰεὶ χρὴ τοῖς σπουδαίοις τε καὶ ἱεροῖς λόγοις, οἳ δὲ μνηύουσιν ἡμῶν ἀθάνατον ψυχὴν εἶναι.

Epist. 7.

Tradi-

Tradition. And *Tully*, who was more favourable to this Opinion than any of them, having enumerated the different Sentiments of the Philosophers, concludes himself with great Uncertainty upon this Point ^w. The excusing the Wicked from any Punishment in another World, was an Opinion, which they of necessity were to hold, who rejected the Immortality of the Soul; but it stop'd not with them, for we find the asserting such Punishment pronounc'd to be a ridiculous ^x Fiction, and are told that Philosophers were universally agreed ^y, that God could neither be angry with nor punish any one. And

^w Nisi quæ me forte fugiunt, hæ sunt fere omnium de animo sententiæ. — Harum sententiarum quæ vera sit, Deus aliquis viderit, quæ verisimillima, magna quæstio est.

Cic. Ibid.

^x Nam nunc quidem quid tandem illi mors attulit? nisi fortè ineptiis ac fabulis ducimur, ut existimemus illum apud inferos impiorum supplicia perferre, ac plureis illic offendisse inimicos, quàm hic reliquisse; à socrus, ab uxorum, à fratris, à liberum pœnis actum esse præcipitem in sceleratorum sedem atque regionem: quæ si falsa sunt, id quod omnes intelligunt, quid illi tandem aliud mors eripuit, præter sensum doloris?

Cic. pro Cluentio.

^y Quid est igitur, dixerit quis, in jurejurando? Num iratum timemus Jovem? At hoc quidem commune est omnium Philosophorum, non eorum modò qui Deum nihil habere ipsum negotii dicunt, et nihil exhibere alteri, sed eorum etiam qui Deum semper agere aliquid et moliri volunt, numquam nec irasci Deum, nec nocere.

Cic. de Off. l. iii.

then

then for the Hope of having the Body rais'd again, they knew nothing of it. Even those Philosophers who stil'd *the Body the Prison of the Soul*, represented the Resurrection of it as a very despicable Thing; and *Celsus* calls it ^z, *a Hope suttler for Worms than Men*. I shall draw a Veil over the Lives of the Philosophers, and only take notice, that it was either from the rejecting or doubting of these Principles, that we find the exposing Children thought lawful by *Plato* ^{aa}; Abortion by *Aristotle* ^{bb}; Marriage condemn'd by *Epicurus* and *Democritus* ^{cc}; Fornication and ^{dd} a Community of Wives allow'd
of

^z Σκολίων ἢ ἐλπίς.

Apud. Origen. p. 240.

^{aa} Καὶ ταῦτα γ' ἤδη πάντα διακελευσάμενοι περὶ θυμῆ-
σαι, μάλιστα ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν οἷς φῶς ἐκφέρειν κίνημα μὴδ' ἐν, ἐὰν
ῥήνται, ἐὰν δ' ἐτι βιάσονται αὐτῷ ἐκπέναι, ὡς οὐκ οὕτως
τροφῆς τῷ τοῦτο.

De Repub. l. v.

^{bb} Οἰεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς τεκνοποιίας τὸ πλῆθος, ἐὰν δ' ἐπι-
γίνῃται παρὰ ταῦτα συνδυαδέντων πρὶν αἰδοῖσθαι ἐξελθεῖν
καὶ ζῶν ἐμποιεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν ἀμελῶσιν. Pol. l. vii. c. 16.

^{cc} Δημόκριτος δὲ γάμον καὶ παιδοποιάν παραιτεῖται,
διὰ τὰς πολλὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνδρίας τε καὶ ἀφολκὰς ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀνελκαιοτήτων συνεπατάττεται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. ii.

^{dd} Si quis est qui etiam meretriciis amoribus interdictum
juventuti putet, est ille quidem valde severus; negare non
possum: sed abhorret non solum hujus sæculi licentiâ, ve-
rum etiam a Majorum consuetudine atque concessis. Quando
enim hoc non factum est? quando reprehensum? quando
non permissum? quando denique fuit, ut, quod libet, non
liceret?

Cic. pro Cælio.

of by Plato^{ee}, the Epicureans and^{ff} Stoicks; nay even by Socrates and Cato^{ee}; Adultery by Aristippus^{hh}; Incest by Epicurusⁱⁱ, Zeno, and the Stoicks^{kk}; Masculine

Λαίδος τῆς ἔξ Ἑκκάρων πόλεως, δ' αὖθις Σικανική, ἀφ' ἧς αἰχμάλωτ' ὧμομένη ἦκεν ἐς Κλεινθον, ὡς ἰσχυρεῖ Πολέμων ἐν τῷ ὀκτῷ τ' πρὸς Τίμαιον, ἧς καὶ Ἀρίστιππος ἦρα, καὶ Δημοδότης ὁ ῥήτωρ, Διογένης ὁ κύνων—Λεισοτέλης δ' ὁ Σταγειρεῖτης οὐκ ἐξ Ἐρπυλλίδος τῆς ἐταίρας ἐπαιδοπόιστος καὶ Νικόμαχον, καὶ συνῶν πύλην μετὰ θανάτῳ—Σοφοκλῆς ὁ τραγωδοποιὸς ἠδ' ἡ γέμων ὧν ἦραθη Θεωρίδ'—τῆς ἐταίρας—Ἰσοκράτης ὁ τῶν ῥητόρων αἰδοιμονέστερος—Μετάνοισαν ἔχον ἐρωμένην—
Athenæus, Lib. xiii.

^{ee} Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁμολογῶνται, ὃ Γλαῦκον, τῇ μελέσῃ ἀκρῶς οἰκεῖν πόλεις κοινὰς μὲν δὴ γυναῖκας—

De Repub. l. viii.

^{ff} Τὴς γὰρ μὲν μοιχὰς καλέσει παρ' ἡμῖν νόμος, παρὰ δ' ἑποιν ἀδιάφορον ἐστὶ ταῖς τῶν ἑτέρων γυναῖξιν μίγνυσθαι καὶ φιλοσόφων δ' ἐπεὶ φασὶν ἀδιάφορον εἶναι τὸ αλλοτρίᾳ γυναῖκι μίγνυσθαι. Sext. Empiric. Hypot. l. iii. c. 24.

^{ee} Omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos præter uxores; in isto solo consortium solvimus, in quo cæteri homines consortium exercent, qui non amicorum solummodo matrimonia usurpant, sed et sua amicis patientissimè subministrant: ex illâ, credo, majorum et sapientissimorum disciplinâ, Græci Socratis, et Romani Catonis, qui uxores suas amicis communicaverant, quas in matrimonium duxerant, liberorum causâ et alibi creandorum. Tertul. Apol.

^{hh} Ἐλεγε δ' ἐκ εὐλογίᾳ εἶναι—μοιχεύσων—μηδ' ἂν γὰρ εἶναι αἰσχρὸν φύσει—
Diog. Laert. in Vita.

ⁱⁱ Ἐπίκουρος δ' ἐκ αὐτῶν—συμβέβηκε καὶ μητρὶ καὶ ἀδελφεαῖς συμμίγνυσθαι, καὶ παρὰ τῶν νόμων τῶν τῷτο καλυόντων.
Theoph. Antioch. l. iii. ad Autol.

^{kk} Ὁ Κιτσίγιος Ζιζίων φησὶ μὴ ἄτοπον εἶναι, τὸ μῦθον τῆς μητρὸς τῶν ἐαυτῷ μορίων τρίψαι, καθάπερ ἐδὲ ἄλλο τι μέρος τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς τῇ χειρὶ τρίψαι φαῦλον ἂν εἴποι τις εἶναι, καὶ ὁ Χρυσίππ'ος δ' ἐν τῇ πολιτικῇ δογματίζον τὸν τε πατέρα ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς παιδοποιεῖν, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς.
Sext. Emp. Ibid.

Love

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Loye not only by the *Stoicks*^{ll}, but the most famous Philosophers^{mm}, and among the rest by *Socrates*ⁿⁿ himself; to say nothing

^{ll} Καὶ π. Δαυμασόν, ὅπου γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Κυνικῆς φιλοσοφίας, καὶ οἱ περὶ τῆς Κιτρίαια Ζωῶνα, καὶ Κλεάνδρου, καὶ Χρύσιππου ἀδιάφορον τὸ εἶναι φασί;

Sext. Empir. Ibid.

^{mm} Ad Magistros Virtutis, Philosophos, veniamus; qui Amorem negant stupri esse, et in eo litigant cum Epicuro, non multum, ut opinio mea fert, mentiente: quis est enim Amor iste Amicitiae, cur neque deformem Adolescentem quicquam amat, neque formosum Senem? Mihi quidem haec in Graecorum Gymnasiis nata consuetudo videtur. —

Quis aut de Ganyædis raptu dubitat quid poetæ velint? aut non intelligit, quid apud Euripidem et loquatur et cupiat Laius? quid denique Homines doctissimi et summi Poetæ de seipfis et Carminibus edant, et Cantibus? Fortis Vir in sua Repub. cognitus, quæ de Juvenum amore scripsit Alcæus? Nam Anacreontis quidem tota poësis est amatoria. Maximè vero omnium flagrâsse Amore Rheginum Ibycum apparet ex scriptis. Atque horum omnium libidinosos esse amores videmus.

Cic. Tusc. Q. l. iv.

Ὅλας δὲ τοὺς παιδικούς ἔρωτας ἢ ἐπὶ ταῖς θηλείαις προκρίνους πολλοί. — παρα γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις εὐνομιμέναις πόλεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σπουδαῖναι τὸ δὲ τὸ ἡθ. Ζωῶν — ἐδέποτε γυναικὶ ἐχρήσατο, παιδικούς δὲ αἶ — Ἰερώνυμ. δὲ ὁ Περιπατητικὸς περισπιδάστας φησὶ γένεσθαι τοὺς τῶν παίδων ἔρωτας. — Ἰερώνυμ. δὲ ὁ Ῥόδ. ἐν τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν φησὶν ὅτι Σοφοκλῆς εὐπρεπῆ παιδα ἔξω τῶ τείχεος ἀπήγαγε χρησόμεν. αὐτῶ.

Athenæus. l. xiii.

Ὅταν δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐνδυμῆδῃ ἡ Σωκράτην, ἡ Πλάτωνα, τὸν Ζενοφῶντα, ἡ Ἀιχίνω, ἡ Κίβητα, ἡ πάντα χορὸν ἔκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ τοὺς ἄρρενας ἐδοκίμασσαν ἔρωτας. —

Plut. de Lib. Educand.

— παρ' Ἑλλήσι δὲ καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ ἐρωμένους ἔχοντες οὐ ψέγονται. —

Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. vi. c. 10.

ⁿⁿ Ἐρωτικὸς γὰρ ὡς, εἰ τίς περ, καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ ὑπὸ μίαν Ἀλκιβιάδης αὐτῶ χλαρίδα κλιδεῖς, οὐκ ἀπλῆξ ἀνέστη.

Lucian. de Amoribus, and see Plutarch de Lib. educand.

Σωκράτης

nothing of the *Cynicks*, who strip'd themselves of all Shame and Restraint. I should not have consider'd these great Men in this disgraceful View, had not, to the Reproach of Christianity, the Education of our Youth been ^{oo} recommended to them. How different a Reception does their Reputation now meet with, to what their Persons found in the World! *Plato* tells us that they were generally decried, and he gives us the Reason for it, *because*, says he ^{pp}, *most of them were the worst of Men*. Their Profession was prohibited by the ^{qq} *Spartans*, *Thebans* and *Argives*, and found a very difficult Reception at *Rome*. They were expell'd ^{rr} by the

Σωκράτης δὴ μὲν καὶ ἀποκρίσας τοῖς νέοις, καὶ μέντοι πάντες αὐτῷ ἐπισημαίνοντες κατέλιπον.

Lucian. Ver. Hist. l. ii.

^{oo} Christianity, *Esc.* p. 166.

^{pp} Πολὺ δὲ μεγίστη καὶ ἰσχυροτάτη Διαβολὴ γίνεται φιλοσοφίας, διὰ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα φάσκοντες ἐπισημαίνοντες.

—παμπόνηροι οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἰόντων ἐπ' αὐτήν.

De Rep. l. vi.

^{qq} A quibusdam ejecta Philosophia, à Thebanis dico, à Spartanis, et Argivis, dum ad nostra contaminantur.

Tertul. Apol. c. xlvii.

^{rr} Verba Senatusconsulti, de exigendis urbe Roma Philosophis: item verba edicti Censorum, quo improbatum et coercitum sunt qui disciplinam rhetoricam instituere et exercere Romæ coperant.

C. FAN.

the Senate. *Tully* afterwards brought Philosophy into some Credit; but the Apologys he makes for the Study of it, shews how disgraceful it was commonly thought. How proper they would have

C. FANNIO STRABONE, M. VALERIO MES-
SALA COSS. SENATVS CONSVLTVM DE PHILO-
SOPHIS ET DE RHETORIBVS LATINIS FACTVM
EST. M. POMPONIVS. PRAETOR. SENATVM.
CONSVLVIT. QVOD. VERBA. FACTA. SVNT. DE.
PHILOSOPHIS. ET. DE. RHETORIBVS. DE. EA. RE.
ITA. CENSVERVNT. VTI. M. POMPONIVS. PRAE-
TOR. ANIMADVERTERET. CVRARET. Q. VTI.
EI. E. REPVBICA. FIDE. QVE. SVA. VIDERETVR.
VTI. ROMAE. NE. ESSENT. Aliquot deinde annis
post id Senatusconsultum C. DOMITIVS AENOBARBUS
et L. LICINIVS CRASSVS Censores de coercendis rhetori-
bus Latinis ita edixerunt: RENVNCIATVM. EST. NO-
BIS. ESSE. HOMINES. QVI. NOVVM. GENVS. DIS-
CIPLINAE. INSTITVERVNT. AD. QVOS. JV-
VENTVS. IN. LVDVM. CONVENIAT. EOS. SIBI.
NOMEN. IMPOSVISSE. LATINOS. RHETORES.
IBI. HOMINES. ADVLESCENTVLOS. DIES. TOTOS.
DESIDERE. MAIORES. NOSTRI. QVAE. LIBEROS.
SVOS. DISCERE. ET. QVOS. IN. LVDOS. ITARE.
VELLENT. INSTITVERVNT. HAEC. NOVA.
QVAE. PRAETER. CONSVETVDINEM. AC. MO-
REM. MAJORVM. FIVNT. NE. QVE. PLACENT.
NE. QVE. RECTA. VIDENTVR. QVAPROPTER.
ET. HIS. QVI. EOS. LVDOS. HABENT. ET. HIS.
QVI. EO. VENIRE. CONSERVNT. VISVM. EST.
FACIVNDVM. VT. OSTENDEREMVS. NOSTRAM.
SENTENTIAM. NOBIS. NON. PLACERE.

Neque illis solùm temporibus nimis rudibus, necdum Gra-
cæ doctrinæ expolitis, philosophi ex urbe Româ pulsi sunt :
verum etiam Domitiano imperante Senatusconsulto eiekti, at-
que urbe & Italiâ interdicti sunt ; qua tempestate Epictetus
quoque philosophus propter id Senatusconsultum Nicopolin
Româ decessit.

Aul. Gell. L. xv. c. 11.

been

been for the Office this Gentleman has found out for them, *Athenæus* will inform us, who tells us that they were banish'd from their Places of Abode, "as *Corrupters of Youth*; and he quotes a Poet, who "calls them, *Deceivers of young Men*. 'Tis needless for me to oppose here the Purity and Excellence of the Christian Morality, to these Allowances of Philosophy; I shall only observe that whatsoever Virtue the Philosophers recommended, is injoyn'd by the Apostles in a far more eminent and comprehensive Manner. To instance in the Dutys of *Doing good*, and *Suffering evil*; the two main Parts of our Employment here.

THE Philosophers, to do them Justice, did all of them recommend the Love of our Friends and of our Country; and the beautiful sublime Things they have said in setting it out, deserve Praise, and cannot be too much admir'd. But they stop'd there, and thought themselves discharg'd from shewing Kindness to the rest of Mankind. They knew not how to ex-

"Ρωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ πάντα ἄριστοι ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Σοφιστὰς τῆς Ῥώμης, αἷς διαφθείροντας τοὺς νέους.

Athenæus, l. xiii.

"[Ὁ Δελφὸς Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν ἑκτῷ ὑπομνημάτων] Μαι-
ρακισζαπᾶται

Lib. iv.

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tend the Duty of Affection to its natural and proper Length. 'Twas the Precept of one of the seven wise Men. *Be ^{uu} ye kind to your Friends, and revenge yourself on your Enemys.* And even *Socrates* declar'd it ^{ww} lawful to rejoyce at the Calamitys and Misfortunes of our Enemys. *Aristotle* speaks ^{xx} disdainfully of Meekness, and a forgiving Temper; and he and *Cicero* ^{yy} are both of them Advocates for Hatred and Revenge. But our Religion teaches a quite different Lesson; it commands us to bear an universal good Will to all Men without Exception, to desire their Happiness, and to be ready on all Occasions to procure and promote their Welfare, and to extend our Affection even to our Enemys and Persecutors: *To be merciful as our Father, which is in Heaven is merciful; To do good to them who hate us*, to bless them who curse us, and to pray for them who despitefully use us, and persecute us.* And what is a still farther Proof of the

^{uu} φίλοις ἐνόντες ἐχθρὸς ἀμύνει.

Sofiad. apud. Stobæum. Serm. iii.

^{ww} 'Ουκοῦν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακῶς οὐτ' ἀδικον, ἔτε φρονερόν ἐστι χαίρειν.

Plato. Phileb.

^{xx} Οἱ μὴ ὀργισμένοι — ἡλίθιοι δόκουσιν εἶναι. Διὰ οὐκ αἰδανέσθαι μὴ ὀργισμένοι. τὸ δὲ περὶ ἡλικίας οὐδὲν ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀνδραποδῶδες.

Ethic. l. iv. c. 7.

^{yy} Odi Hominem, et odero, utinam ulcisci possem.

Cic. Epist. ad Attic. l. ix.

* Mat. v. 44.

Excellence

Excellence of Christianity, is, that if the same Sentiments should be met with in the Schools of the Philosophers, 'tis still to be prefer'd, for inforcing so very difficult a Duty upon a true and sufficient Principle.

AND as to *the Bearing of Evils*, 'tis a Duty impossible to be perform'd as it ought, by any one, who either denies, or doubts, the Being of a God, his Providence, the Immortality of the Soul, or a future State. Such a one can have no Principle, which can be sufficient to support him, under the Apprehensions and Pressures of Miseries and Misfortunes; he can have no Hope, which can afford him Comfort, and can only wish for Death and a Non-existence. Upon any of those Principles, 'tis far better for us to be Brutes, than Men; for, 'tis plain, they are less cast down and disquieted, under Pain and Misery, than the bravest and most resolute Man can pretend to be without the Support of the Almighty. And as for all the Consolation which the Philosophers of better Principles could afford, we may pronounce it to be rather entertaining and diverting to the Mind, than able to relieve a Man under any heavy Affliction; not to say that their Considerations were too speculative and refin'd for common Understandings. But

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all the Evils and Afflictions a virtuous Man can be subject to, vanish upon the Appearance of *Life and Immortality thro' the Gospel*. A steady Belief that the first Cause of all Things is the great Disposer of all Events, and that his Providence is particularly concern'd in human Affairs, gives us a firm Assurance that, so long as we put our Trust in, and commit ourselves and our Ways to, him, notwithstanding outward Appearances, our Happiness is certain at the last; that his infinite Power and Goodness are abundantly able, and at all Times ready and willing to succour us; and that, if we do but fear him, Evils and Afflictions shall conspire to the promoting of our Happiness; if we do not reap that Benefit from them in this World, they shall add to our Felicity in the next. But over and above this, if we consider Afflictions in the view Revelation has presented them to us; if as Judgments sent by God, we shall find them to be less than we deserve; if as Corrections for our Sins, that they are Tokens of divine Love; or if as Part of the Work which he has allotted us here, that, as such, the Reward is above the highest Merit: we shall conceive the greatest Miserys, we are subject to, under the Notion of *Happiness*; we shall not endure them as a Burden,

Burden, but enjoy them as a Blessing; and find them to be a Subject of Praise, instead of a Complaint. A Principle, I am sure, not only unaccountable in Reason, but above all Notions in natural Religion. Natural Light and human Reason could never reach it.

BUT that the Christian Revelation may appear with still greater Lustre, let us compare it with Heathenism, in a Particular which has been thought to have given our Deists a great Part of their Prejudice to our Religion, and which, as Travellers inform us *, has been the chief Reason why several *Indian* Princes have refus'd to embrace the Christian Faith; I mean the Purity and Chastity commanded by it. Fornication, Adultery, Pederasty, and all manner of Lasciviousness, were not only allow'd by their Philosophers, but, as we have had frequent Occasion to take notice, interwoven with the Religion of the Heathens; they suppos'd the Practice of those Vices to be not only agreeable to, but even commanded by their Gods, and an acceptable Part of their Worship. We are told in the first Chapter of the Epistle to

* See the Authors collected by Mr. *Barbeyrac*, in his Notes on *Baron Puffendorf*, lib. vi. c. 1. § 16.

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the Romans, that 'twas because they * *changed the Glory of the incorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible Man, and to Birds, and four footed Beasts, and creeping Things, that † God gave them up to Uncleanneſs, thro' the Luſts of their own Hearts, to diſhonour their Bodys among themſelves. || As they liked not to retain God in their Knowledge, he gave them up to a reprobate Mind, to do thoſe Things which were not convenient, to thoſe vile Affections* the Apoſtle takes notice of at the 26th and 27th Verſes. That is, God withdrew his Grace from them; left them, without Reſtraint, to their own Luſts; and permitted them to fall into that black and hideous Train of abominable Sins, which were the neceſſary, tho woeful, Effect of their deprav'd Worſhip. Or, if you will, becauſe of their Idolatry he ſuffer'd them to fall into all the diſmal Conſequences to which the Worſhip of their falſe Deitys led them. Religion was the Cauſe of their ſo univerſally laſing into ſuch a miſerable and corrupt Eſtate; and nothing but Religion could releaſe them from it. As their Practices therefore became more and more exorbitant; God made, as we have

* Ver. 23.

† Ver. 24.

|| Ver. 28.

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seen, a fuller Revelation of his Will to the World. He separated the *Israelites* from the rest of Mankind, dispers'd them over the whole Universe, and gave them the *Levitical* Dispensation, which forbid all that Impurity and Lasciviousness, which Heathenism not only tolerated, but encourag'd. But it seeming * to allow many Wives to one Husband, it must, in the Particular of *Chastity*, have given Place to the Revelation promulgated by our Saviour and his Apostles. 'Twas the peculiar Prerogative of the Gospel to bring Mankind to Perfection ; to enable them to be perfect †, even as their Father, which is in Heaven is perfect. This it does by teaching them such Principles as are sufficient to re-establish their Nature, and enable them to lead Lives pure and undefil'd, suitable to the Dignity of it. Such is a Belief of the *Holy Ghost's* inhabiting our Bodys, and that our Bodys shall be raised again from the Grave ; which who-soever is assur'd of, must of Necessity be convinc'd that his Religion requires of him the highest Degree of Purity and Chastness. Let us but see how the Apostle presses this Argument. ‡ *Know ye not,*

* Deut. xvii. 17. and 21. 15. and 2 Sam. xii. 8.

† Matt. v. 48.

‡ 1 Cor. vi. 19.

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says he, *that your Body is the Temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you?* Let us therefore preserve it Holy and Unde-
fil'd, that it may * *be a Vessel of Honour, sanctify'd and meet for the Master's Use.* He hath sanctified it for his Habitation and Service; and shall we pollute it? *The Body is not at all for † Fornication, but for the Service of the Lord the Head of the Body, and the Lord for the Resurrection and Glorification of the Body; and accordingly ‡ God hath raised up the Lord, and will also raise up us by his own Power.* And again he says, || *if any Man defile the Temple of God, him shall God destroy; God will punish him with much Severity, when his Body shall be raised from the Dead.* And agreeably, he represents ** *the Works of the Flesh, Adultery, Fornication, Uncleaness, Lasciviousness and Idolatry, with all the unclean Practices attending it, as such Enormitys, that they which do such Things, shall not inherit the Kingdom of God.* Fornication, says he, †† *and all Uncleaness, let it not be once named amongst you, as becometh Saints,*

* 2 Tim. ii. 21.

† 1 Cor. vi. 13.

‡ 1 Cor. iii. 17.

** Gal. v. 19, &c.

†† Eph. v. 3.

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*For * God hath not called us unto Unclean-
ness, but unto Holiness. He therefore that
despiseth this his Call, despiseth not Man
but God. And throughout the whole
Revelation deliver'd by the Apostles,
Christianity is represented as such a pure
and glorious Dispensation as is destructive
of all Vice and Impurity, and plainly ex-
cluding every one, who is in the least
addicted to such unclean Affections and
Practices, as were the necessary At-
endants on idolatrous Rites and Supersti-
tions, from having † any Inheritance in
the Kingdom of Christ and of God.*

THIS is enough to hint to us the cor-
rupt State of Religion in the Heathen
World, and the Excellence of that which
the Apostles were to establish in its
Room. The Morality they were to
teach was so pure, sublime and cogent,
that some may perhaps think, in so po-
lite and learned an Age, when Arts and
Sciences were at their height, it needed
only to be proposed, to have it embrac'd
by every one. But their Master knew
too well the Degeneracy and Corruption
of human Nature; and that the Prin-

* 1 Thes. iv. 7, and 8.

† Eph. v. 5.

ciples their Doctrine was to be deduced from, were not within the Reach of human Understanding, nor therefore to be establish'd by natural Reason. They were what he himself came into the World to reveal to Mankind. As therefore he had demonstrated the Divinity of his own Mission, by Miracles and Prophecy, he gave his Apostles a Power of working them, and foretelling Things to come, to testify theirs. To this he added the Gift of Tongues, or a Faculty of speaking such Languages as they had Occasion for, by which the Gospel made a greater Progress in a few Years, than it could otherwise have done in many Ages. In short, *Salvation was confirm'd unto us by them, God bearing them Witness, both with Signs and Wonders, and with divers Miracles, and Gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own Will* *.

THUS qualified they set about their Ministry. We can't suppose that all the particular Acts perform'd by them, were ever recorded, or that all which were, are come down to us, who live in an Age so remote from theirs. 'Tis certain, that most of the Writings and Monuments

* Heb. ii. 3, and 4.

of the first Ages of Christianity, are long since lost. However, if we view the different Parts of the then known World, which were visited even by the Apostles themselves, we shall find that 'twill appear from such Records of Christianity as have escap'd the Injury of Time, that there is scarce a Country to be met with, which was not travelled over by one or other of them. And this we are certain of, that wherever they came, they gathered Multitudes about them, freely and openly reprov'd their superstitious Usages, convinced them of the Guilt of Idolatry, and establish'd Christianity in its Place.

'Tis generally agreed by the Antients, that the Apostles divided the World by * Lot into different Portions, which they severally betook themselves to. By this, I suppose, is only meant that they agreed peculiarly to inspect their own Division. For 'tis certain, that their Commission was general, and that they did not so strictly tie themselves to the Provinces allotted them, as not to make Excursions into other Parts, as the Good of the Church requir'd.

* Eusebius, *l. iii. c. 1.* and Socrates, *l. i. c. 19.*

BEFORE this Division, *Palestine* was peculiarly bless'd with the Preaching of all of them; and afterwards 'twas the particular Province of St. James * the Less, who for his near Relation † to his Master, was made the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*. This, and the neighbouring Countrys, seem to have been the only Scene of his Labours. They were very much enlighten'd likewise by St. Jude †, who travelled over *Judæa*, *Galilee*, *Samaria*, *Idumæa*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia* and the Citys of the East.

EGYPT had St. Mark || for her Converter. He resided chiefly at *Alexandria*, and preach'd, not only all over *Egypt*, but in *Marmarica*, *Mauritania*, and other Parts of *Africk*. *Egypt*, *Cyrene*, *Africa*, *Mauritania*, and *Libya*, were visited likewise by St. Simon **. And St. Luke †† travelled over most Parts of this Quarter of the World in the latter Part of his Life, and at last govern'd the Church of *Thebais*. And St. Matthew ††

* Eusebius, l. ii. c. 1.

† Gal. i. 19. and Euseb. *Ibid.*

† Nicephorus, l. ii. c. 40, and 44.

|| Hieron. Cat. Script. Eccl. and Euseb. l. ii. c. 16.

** Nicephorus, l. ii. c. 40.

†† Metaphrastes.

†† Vincentius, l. ix. c. 74.

too came into this Country. And as for *Ethiopia*, 'twas converted by Queen *Candace's* * Eunuch, and St. *Matthias* †.

THE Light of the Gospel shone likewise over the vast Continent of *Asia*. St. *Peter* ‡ travelled from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, (where he founded an Episcopal See, of which he was himself the first Bishop;) and after that over || *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Capadocia*, *Asia*, and *Bitthynia*. But being the Apostle of the Circumcision **, he labour'd mostly amongst such *Jews*, as were dispers'd in those Parts; and therefore St. *John* ††, after the Death of the Blessed Virgin ††, came into *Asia*. He founded the Churches of |||| *Smyrna*, *Pergamus*, *Thyatira*, *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, *Laodicea* and *Ephesus*; the last of which he made his chief Residence, but travelled up and down even to the *Parthians*, *Scythia* and the neighbouring Countrys, had St. *Philip* *** and *Andrew* ††† for

* Acts viii. 27.

† Nicephorus, l. ii. c. 40.

‡ Hieron. Cat. Scrip. Eccl.

|| 1 Pet. i. 1. and Euseb. l. iii. c. 1.

** Gal. ii. 7.

†† Euseb. l. iii. c. 1.

††† Nicephorus, l. ii. c. 42.

|||| Rev. i. 4.

*** Nicephorus, l. ii. c. 39.

††† See Mr. Reading's Notes on Euseb. l. iii. c. 1.

their

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their Apostles, the latter of whom travelled over most Parts of *Asia*. The Coast of the *Euxine* Sea had St. *Matthias**; the northern and † western Parts of *Asia* had St. *Bartholomew*, and the eastern † St. *Luke*, who visited that Country after he had left St. *Paul* at *Rome* crown'd with Martyrdom. The *Persians* are suppos'd to have been instructed by St. *Simon* and St. *Jude* ||; 'tis certain they were preach'd to by St. *Thomas* **, as well as the *Parthians*, *Medes*, *Carmanians*, *Hyrcani* and *Bactrians*. St. *Thomas* was the Apostle likewise of the *Asian* *Ethiopia*, into which St. *Matthew* †† came after he had travelled over *Parthia*. And even all *India* †† was acquainted with the Gospel by the Preaching of St. *Thomas* |||| and *Bartholomew* ***, Such Places and Persons as escap'd these Apostles, seem to have been visited by the great St. *Paul*, who being sent to the Gen-

* Hieron. Cat. Script. Eccl.

† See Dr. Cave, § 5.

† See Dr. Cave, § 3.

|| See Dr. Cave, § 3.

** See Mr. Reading's Note Euseb. l. iii. c. 1. and Hieron. Cat. Script. Eccl.

†† Socrates, l. i. c. 19.

†† Ibid.

|||| See Mr. Reading, Ibid.

*** Euseb. l. v. c. 10.

tiles,

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tiles *, avoided such Places as had left their Idolatry, and, if he came where the Gospel had been before preach'd, address'd himself to such as had not receiv'd it. Immediately upon his Conversion at *Damascus*, he went for three † Years into *Arabia Petraea*; return'd and preach'd again in that City, till being forc'd thence, he went to *Jerusalem*, from thence to *Cæsarea*, then to *Tarsus*, and having preach'd for two Years in *Syria* and *Cilicia*, came again to *Tarsus* ‡, and so to *Antioch*; where finding *Barnabas*, he made him a Companion of his Travels, went with him to *Jerusalem* ||, back again to *Antioch* **, then to *Seleucia* ††, and leaving that City, they came to *Cyprus*. From thence they went to *Perga* †† in *Pamphylia*, and afterwards to *Antioch* ||| in *Pisidia*, from whence they were forc'd *** to *Iconium*, and from thence to ††† *Lystra* and *Derbe*. They revisited the Citys I have men-

* Acts xxii. 21. Rom. xi. 13. and xv. 16. Gal. i. 16. and ii. 7. Eph. iii. 8. 2 Tim. i. 11. and iv. 17.

† Gal. i. 17, 18.

‡ Acts xi. 25, 26.

|| Ver. 27.

** Chap. xii. 25.

†† Chap. xiii. 4.

‡‡ Chap. xiii. 13.

||| Chap. xiii. 14.

*** Chap. xiii. 50.

††† Chap. xiv. 6.

tion'd;

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tion'd; and * passing throughout Pifidia, they came to Pamphylia, preach'd in Perga, and went down into Attalia, and thence sailed to Antioch. From this City they were † sent to the famous Council at Jerusalem, and return'd with the Decrees of it. And here Paul parting ‡ from Barnabas, went thro' || Syria and Cilicia, came again to Derbe ** and Lystra, where finding Timothy, he took him with him thro' Pbrygia ††, Galatia, Mysia, and †† assaying to go into Bithynia, they came down to Troas, where he was directed in a Vision to pass into Europe. He return'd to Asia, call'd at Ephesus ||||, pass'd thro' Syria, came to Caesarea ***, and so to Jerusalem. From thence he return'd again to Antioch, went over Galatia †††, and Pbrygia, and came again to Ephesus †††. After going again into Europe, we find him at Troas |||||,

* Chap. xiv. 24, 25, 26.

† Chap. xv.

‡ Chap. xv. 39.

|| Chap. xv. 41.

** Chap. xvi. 1.

†† Ver. 6.

†† Ver. 7.

|||| Chap. xviii. 18, 19.

*** Ver. 22.

††† Ver. 23.

††† Chap. xix. 1.

||||| Chap. xx. 6.

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Affos *, *Mitylene*, *Chios* †, *Samos*, *Trogyllium*, *Miletus*, *Coas* †, *Rhodes*, *Patara*, *Tyre* ‖, *Ptolemais* **, *Cæsarea* ††, and at *Jerusalem* ††, from whence his Appeal carried him to *Rome*. And even after that we find him at *Nicopolis* ‖‖‖, *Miletus* ***, and *Troas* †††.

BUT let us with *St. Paul* go over into *Europe*. *St. Andrew* preach'd the Gospel and converted great Numbers in *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, *Achaia* ††† and *Epirus* ‖‖‖‖. And *St. John* being sent for from *Ephesus* to *Domitian* at *Rome* ****, who condemn'd him to Banishment in the Isle of *Patmos*, was not idle in his Passage to and from that City, but brought Abundance off from their Superstition and Idolatry. As *St. Peter* †††† likewise did, who had *St.*

* *Ver. 14.*

† *Ver. 15.*

‡ *Chap. xxi. 1.*

‖ *Ver. 3.*

** *Ver. 7.*

†† *Ver. 8.*

‡‡ *Ver. 17.*

‖‖‖ *Tit. iii. 14.*

*** *2 Tim. iv. 12.*

††† *2 Tim. iv. 13.*

‡‡‡ *Hieron. Ep. ad Marcel.*

‖‖‖‖ *Greg. Naz. Oratio ad Arrianos.*

**** *Tertull. de Præscript. Hæret. c. 36.*

†††† *See Dr. Cave.*

Mark,

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Mark, as is generally believed, for his Companion, in the Journey he made to *Rome*. *Germany* and *Gaul* are suppos'd to have been visited by *St. Simon*, who pass'd thro' those Countrys in his way to *Britain* *, where he suffer'd Martyrdom. But what most eminently contributed to the overthrow of Idolatry in this Quarter of the World, was the Labours of the great Apostle *St. Paul*. *St. Luke* was converted † by him just before he was warn'd to go into *Macedonia*, and was ever after the inseparable Companion of his Travels. The Success *St. Paul* met with in his Ministry, was equal to his Courage and Resolution; and the Journeys he made in *Europe*, as well as in *Asia*, were so quick, that we find him first at *Philippi* †, then at *Amphipolis* ‖, *Apollonia*, *Thessalonica*, *Berea* **, *Athens* ††, *Corinth* ††. And having gone into *Asia*, he return'd and pass'd thro' *Macedonia* ‖‖ and *Greece*, and ship'd himself again for *Asia*, and at

* *Dorotheus* in his *Synopsis*, *Niceph. l. ii. c. 40.* and the *Grecian Kalendar*.

† *Acts xvi. 10.*

† *Chap. xvi. 12.*

‖ *Chap. xvii. 1.*

** *Ver. 10.*

†† *Ver. 16.*

†† *Chap. xviii. 1.*

‖‖ *Chap. xx. 1.*

Jerusalem was constrained to appeal unto *Cæsar* *. He took Ship at *Adramyttium* †, touch'd at *Crete*, and was shipwreck'd upon *Malta* ‡, from whence he was carried to *Rome*, where he dwelt for two Years ||. Having at last gain'd his Liberty, he went, as he himself tells ** us more than once he intended to do, into *Spain*; from thence into the eastern and western Parts of *Europe* ††; pass'd thro' *Gaul* and came into *Britain* ††; return'd thro' *Illyricum* |||, and *Macedonia* to *Philippi* ***; pass'd again into *Asia* †††, and made a second Journey to *Rome*, where he was crown'd with Martyrdom.

I SHALL only take notice a little more particularly of the Conversion of *India* and *Britain*; they being the utmost Extremitys of the then known World. The former of these was, as I

* Chap. xv. 11.

† Chap. xxvii. 2.

‡ Chap. xxviii. 1.

|| Ver. 30.

** Rom. xv. 24, &c.

†† Hieron. Script. Eccl.

†† Parker's Ant. Brit. and Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit.

||| Rom. xv. 14.

*** Philip. i. 25.

††† Tit. iii. 12. and 2 Tim. iv. 12.

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have said, visited by St. *Thomas*, who is reported to have been unwilling to trust himself in those Countrys, till he was encourag'd to it by a Vision * ; after which he travell'd as far as the Island *Taprobane*, or *Sumatra*, and to the Country of the *Brachmans* ; and wherever he came, he with all Calmness rebuked their Idolatry †, and by degrees perswaded them to renounce it. The Pastors appointed by him govern'd these Churches, and in the next Century sent Ambassadors to *Demetrius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, desiring that *Pantænus*, who, from a Greek Philosopher, was become a very eminent Christian Divine, might be sent them ‡. He upon his coming amongst them found there a Copy of St. *Matthew's* Gospel in *Hebrew* ||, which had been carried thither by St. *Bartholomew*, who, we are from thence certain, visited those Countrys. And as for the People, they were knowing and sufficiently instructed in the Christian Religion. Dr. *Cave* ** has given us an Account of the Conversion of these Countrys, as the *Portugeses* learnt it from

* Nicephorus, l. ii. c. 40.

† Sim. Metaphrastes, ad 21 Dec. n. 8, 9.

‡ Hieron. Cat. Script. Eccl.

|| Euseb. l. v. c. 10.

** Life of St. *Thomas*, § 4.

Tradition,

Tradition, and such antient Monuments and Writings as were preserved to their coming amongst them. They tell us that *St. Thomas* came first to *Socotora*, an Isle in the *Arabian Sea*, thence to *Cranganor*, and, meeting with Success, travell'd farther *East*; and return'd back into the Kingdom of *Cormandel*, where at *Malipur*, having wrought several Miracles, he built a Church, and was martyr'd by the *Brachmans*. This is certain, that there has been a continued Succession of *Christians* in these Countrys ever since; who, from their having been converted by this Saint are call'd, and call themselves, *Christians of St. Thomas*. Dr. *Geddes*, and Mr. *Brerewood* *, have, from abundance of Authors, given us a very particular Account of them, their suppos'd Numbers, and the Countrys inhabited by them. They † do both of them tell us, that they were govern'd by an Archbishop, who paid Obedience to the Patriarch of *Mosul* ‡, till he was forc'd, by the Violences made use of by the *Portugeses*, to revolt, and submit himself to the *Bishop* of *Rome*; but that he would not suffer any Alteration to be made in their antient

* Enquirys, c. 20. See likewise Dr. *Cave*, § 6.

† Hist. of the Church of *Malabar*.

‡ See Dr. *Geddes*, *ibid*.

Rites or Religion. That they then administered the Eucharist in both Kinds, denied the Primacy of the Pope, extreme Unction, and had no Images in their Churches. But his Successor, with his Suffragans, has in a Synod renounced the Religion of their Ancestors, and receiv'd that of *Rome*. I shall only add, that any one who will examine such of our Books of Travels into *India*, as are most approv'd of, will find such various religious Usages * resembling Christian Practice, as sufficiently prove our Religion to have been received antiently all over those Countrys.

As to *Britain*, Historians have brought more Apostles into it, than, it may be, there is any just pretence for. I shall leave the Credit of St. *Simon's* having been here, upon the Authority of the Authors I have mentioned; and refer those who have a Mind to enquire after the Success St. *Peter* and *Joseph of Arimathea* met with here, to Sir *H. Spelman*, &c. I think it much more probable that the Gospel was first preach'd here by St. *Paul*. We are expressly told so by *Theodoret* †, and So-

* See *Jenkins*, v. i. p. 115, &c.

† In *Psal.* cxvi. & de *Curand.* *Græc. Affect.* l. ix. *Serm.* ix.

phronius Patriarch of *Jerusalem* *. And *St. Clement*, who was contemporary with him, and his Fellow-Labourer, says † that he preach'd both in the East and in the West; leaving behind him the glorious Reports of his Faith: and taught the whole World Righteousness, and for that End travell'd even to the utmost Bounds of the West, which was the Phrase then us'd to denote these Islands. And 'tis certain, that he had both Leisure and Opportunity during the eight Years between the obtaining his Liberty at *Rome*, and his returning again to that City. That Christianity was planted here very early is put past doubt by *Tertullian* ‡, and *Origen* ||; and so of Necessity it must have been, as appears from the Number of Martyrs, which, as all our Historians ** agree, suffer'd here in the dreadful Persecution under *Dioclesian*, and *Maximian* his Colleague. But the happy Calm, which succeeded upon *Constantius Clorus's* coming to the Throne, restor'd Religion; insomuch that we find three *British Bishops*, with others of the Clergy, at the Council ††

* De Labor. S. Pauli.

† Ep. ad Corinth. § 5.

‡ Adversus Judæos, c. 7.

|| In Ez. Hom. v.

** *Gildas*, *Bede*, &c.

†† *Usserij Ant. Brit. Eccl. c. viii.* and *Spelman's Conc. v. i. p. 42.*

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of *Arles* A. D. 314. Others of them at the *Nicene* * Council in 325. And the Deputys the *British* Church sent to the Council of *Ariminum* in 359, were of such Dignity that they refus'd the Emperor's † Allowance, thinking it beneath them not to bear their own Expences.

THUS were all the different Parts of the World visited by the Apostles themselves, who were far from being idle in the Journeys they made. We find them, even as they pass'd from Place to Place, freely and openly reproving Heathenism and all its superstitious Rites and Usages; and tho the time of their Stay was ever so small any where, they left behind them, in the Converts they made, sufficient Evidence of their being there; and having by their Miracles and Preaching reap'd, in almost every Place they came to, a very plentiful Harvest, they form'd their Converts into Churches, and appointed spiritual Guides and Pastors to preside over them, to whom they communicated ‡, the better to enable them to conquer the Powers

* Constantini Ep. ad omnes Eccl. & Athanasii ad Jovinianum, and Hilary of Poitiers.

† *Du Pin*.

‡ Acts viii. and x. 44, 45. and xix. 6. 1 Cor. i. 5, 6, 7. and Eph. i. 3. 1 Tim. iv. 14. 2 Tim. i. 6, 7.

united against them, and bring others off from their Idolatry, the same Power of working Miracles as they themselves had.

AND the Success these Governors of Churches met with, was answerable to their indefatigable Labour and Industry. Innumerable Multitudes in most Parts of the World came over to Christianity, which flew like Lightning, and every where spread itself with an amazing Progress. When St. *Paul* wrote his Epistle to the *Romans*, which is suppos'd to have been twenty four Years after our Saviour's Passion, the *Sound* of the Preachers of the Gospel had gone out *into all the Earth, and their Words unto the End of the World* *. And five Years after when he wrote his Epistle to the *Colossians*, the Gospel had been *preach'd to every Creature under Heaven* †. *Pliny*, in a Letter he sent, the latter End of the first Century, to *Trajan*, tells the Emperor that " the Contagion " of Christian Superstition had spread " itself, not only over the Citys, but even " the Villages and Fields." ‡ *Justin Martyr*, who wrote in the middle of the next Century, says ||, that " there was no

* Rom. x. 18.

† Colof. i. 23.

‡ L. x. Ep. 97.

|| Dial. cum Tryph.

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" Nation in the World, but that Men of
 " every Rank in it, offer'd up Praises and
 " Thanksgivings in the Name of *Christ*
 " crucified." And Christianity was so
 increas'd by the fourth Century, that
 St. *Austin*, who then flourish'd, assures us,
 that " the * Christians were more in
 " Number than the Jews and Wor-
 " shippers of Images added together." *Prudentius*, who immediately succeeded
 him, call'd the Heathens, *Pars Hominum*
rarissima. And *Theodoret*, who liv'd but
 a little after, says of them †, that they
 were but very few, three or four in Com-
 parison of the *Christians*, and that they
 valued themselves upon their Singularity
 in not being led away by the Multitude ||.

So eminently was the Prediction of
 our blessed Saviour fulfill'd, which he
 made, when there was not the least Ap-
 pearance of its coming to pass; when he
 was low and despis'd, and had only a few
 poor Fishermen for his Followers; that †
after he was lifted up, he would draw all Men
to him; and that then his Doctrine, tho at

* De Utilitate Credendi, c. 7.

† In Psal. lxxv. 7.

|| See Dr. *Jenkins*, v. i. p. 114. and Dr. *Whitby's* Ge-
 neral Pref. p. 26.

† John xii. 32.

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first every where persecuted, *like a Grain of Mustard Seed cast into a Garden, or like Leaven hid in Meal**, should spread itself thro' all the World, and be embrac'd and flourish in every Part of it. And that Promise of his to his Church, that he will protect and defend, and *be with it always unto the end of the World*, insomuch that *the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it†*, will, we may rest assur'd, notwithstanding all the inveterate Malice of the Enemies to Christianity, be, in the same manner, perform'd; that tho all the Enemies of our Religion should *give their Power and Strength unto the Beast, to make War with the Lamb* and his Company, we may be certain that *the Lamb shall overcome them, for he is the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings ||*.

THIS swift and universal spreading of the Gospel, in so short a Time, must be ascrib'd to something more than human, and is therefore a sufficient and convincing Demonstration of the Truth of it. As all other Powers than that of God were united against it, it could not pos-

* Luke xiii. 18, &c.

† Mat. xvi. 18.

|| Rev. xvii. 13, 14,

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fibly gain Ground by any other Power. The first Preachers of it, could never have fill'd the World with Believers, had they not been able to testify the Divinity of their Mission by Credentials which were undoubtedly from Heaven. And agreeably we find the Apostles not arrogating the Success of their Ministry to themselves, but to the Grace of God co-operating with their Preaching, and the Power he had given them of working Miracles *. No other Power could ever have prevail'd. Even the Power of Reason could never have establish'd the purest Morality in Opposition to the Lusts, Pleasures, and worldly Advantages of Mankind; much less could it have spread a Doctrine by conquering the most violent Persecutions. But the Power of Miracles, which the Apostles were so eminently indow'd with, sufficiently accounts for all. So that if we had no other Evidence of the Truth of our Religion, than this quick and general planting of it, we could not refuse our Belief in it.

AND this we are as certainly assur'd of, as we can be of any historical Fact whatsoever. For if amongst all the Re-

* 1 Cor. i. 20, &c. ii. 4, &c. 2 Cor. iv. 7.

cords I have taken notice of, *The Acts of the Apostles* only be allow'd for true History, it sufficiently proves the Point. And that it is we have as much Reason to believe, as the Nature of the Thing will admit of; it having all those Circumstances attending it, which are necessary to prove any History authentick, and several others which no History besides, unless those of the Gospels, can pretend to. But to prove its Genuineness, this, amongst other unanswerable Arguments, may suffice. 'Twas wrote and publish'd by St. *Luke*, soon after the Facts it takes notice of were committed, while they were fresh and in the Mouths of all Men; as we are certain, not only from *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Origen*, and *Eusebius* *, who tell us that he wrote it by *divine Inspiration*, and reckon it † up amongst those Scriptures which were at all Times accounted Canonical; but from its being own'd, alluded to, and quoted, as an unquestionable Record of Christianity, by St. *Barnabas* ‡, St. *Clement* ||, the Author of the Relation of the Martyrdom of St. *Ignatius* **, by

* Euseb. l. iii. c. 4.

† L. iii. c. 25.

‡ Ep. § 7.

|| 1 Ep. Corinth. § 2.

** § 10.

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Papias *, and *Polycarp* †: all of whom liv'd in the Times of, and were Disciples to, the Apostles; and in the very next Century 'twas epitomis'd by *Irenæus* ‡. And if we consider the Matter contain'd in this History, which is chiefly wonderful Miracles wrought upon eminent and well known Persons, such as *Saul* the fiery Persecutor of this Religion, *Elymas* || the Sorcerer, the *Pythonefs* at *Philippi* **, &c. in the most publick Manner and most frequented Places, as in the Temple and Market at *Jerusalem*, *Samaria*, *Damascus*, &c. nay, in the Presence of the Jewish and Heathen Priests themselves, as the curing of the *Cripples*, at the beautiful Gate of the Temple ††, and at *Lystra* ‡‡. If we could suppose it possible, (which 'tis very hard to do) that the least Credit could be procur'd to such impudent Untruths, as these must all of them be, had they been fictitious; would it not have been the easiest Thing to have confuted this History, at so small a distance of Time as we are certain 'twas

* Euseb. l. iii. c. 39.

† Ep. ad Philip. § 1.

‡ L. iii. c. 12.

|| Acts xiii. 11.

** Acts xvi. 18.

†† Acts iii. 6.

‡‡ Acts xiv. 8.

publish'd to the World in, while many, if not most, of the Eye-Witnesses were living, if the Facts it relates with all their Circumstances, had not been true? But this having never been so much as attempted either by *Jew* or *Gentile*, tho they were both of them, as we are certain *, acquainted with all the sacred Books of the Christians, were freely offer'd their Perusal, and did make use of them, in their Writings against Christianity, and must have known how People in those great Citys, and indeed all the World over, came to receive and profess this Religion, and tho all the Wit, which Malice could supply the most learned Adversarys with, was exercis'd against it, is certain Demonstration that these Miracles were wrought, as they are there related, and consequently that our Religion is true. This single Argument is, I am sure, sufficient to battle the united Force of Infidelity, so long as there is any such Thing as an authentick Record, or true History in the World; it cannot, nor ought not to be denied by any Man who pretends to common Sense and Reason.

* See Just. Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryphone Jud. and Apol. ii. Tertul. Apol. c. 31. Origen. l. v. and Euseb. l. iii. c. 27.

AND here I shall observe, that this wonderful Propagation of Christianity into the most distant Parts of the World, even by the Apostles themselves, is a sufficient Proof that the holy Scriptures are delivered down to us free from any Corruption or Forgery whatsoever; as the miraculous Preservation of them is of the divine Authority they claim*. For if we consider, that as fast as the Scriptures were compos'd, as St. Matthew's Gospel was wrote within *eight*, St. Mark's *ten*, and St. Luke's *fifteen* Years † of our Saviour's Ascension, while the Actions were fresh in every Man's Memory, the Apostles sent Copies of them to the Churches, which they had planted in

* “ Etsi in Librorum sacrorum Conservatione Ecclesiaz
 “ Opera usus sit Deus, tamen speciali Providentiâ eis ita
 “ invigilavit, ut ab ipso primo inspiratos esse miranda
 “ ipsorum Conservatione monstrârit, dum divina hæc Fidei
 “ Speique nostræ Monumenta tantis munivit Præfidiis, ut
 “ per tot Seculorum Decursus, inter tot Imperiorum Rui-
 “ nas, tot Regnorum Mutationes & Καταλύματα,
 “ inter tot Librariorum Transcriptiones, Exemplaribus in-
 “ ter tot Nationes dispersis, tanta Terræ Marisque Inter-
 “ capedine disjunctas, soloque Fidei Nexu colligatas, con-
 “ tra Hæreticorum Fraudes, & Tyrannorum Furores, qui
 “ ea vel corrumpere vel abolere totis Viribus conati sunt,
 “ facta Tecta ad nostra Tempora conservata, & ad ultimam
 “ Temporis Particulam permansura sint.” *Waltoni Præ-*
fatio in Biblia Polyglotta.

† Dr. Whitby's General Pref. p. 17.

the

the different Parts of the World, and carried them with them wheresoever they preach'd the Gospel *, and left them in Writing with every Congregation they form'd, so that there were in Fact many Originals; and that 'tis highly probable the first Christians were as curious and careful in the Copies of their Scriptures, as *Aulus Prudens* † was in his Copy of *Martial's* Poems, and sent theirs to be corrected and amended by the Apostles own Hands; and that from the Originals before they perish'd, and Copys so corrected, a Multitude of true Copys generally known to have been taken from them, must be extant; and, over and above this, that they were translated into the Language of every Country, and read from the beginning ‡ to all Christian Congregations as often as they assembled for the Worship of Almighty God, as *St. Paul* adjures the *Thessalonians* by the Lord, that his *Epistle* should be read $\pi\alpha\sigma\iota$ to all the holy Brethren indefinitely ||; and not like some other Writings, which, having

* Eusebius, L. iii. c. 37. and l. v. c. 10.

† *Martial*, L. vii. Ep. 10.

‡ Tertull. de Præscript. adv. Hæret. and Just. Mart. Apol. ii. and the Authors collected by Fabricius, Bibliogr. Ant. c. 11. § 19.

|| 1 Ep. v. 27.

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a great Regard pay'd to them, were read on some certain Days, and in some Congregations only; and that they were commented upon in different Countrys from the very first writing of them, and unanimously appeal'd * to in every Church by all Factions and Partys of Christians, as often as any Controversy arose: Whosoever, I say, considers these Things, must own it to be very absurd to imagine the least considerable Alteration could have been effected by any single Person, or indeed by any single Country, supposing all the People of it could have agreed together in carrying on such a Fraud, without some notorious and universal Discovery. For whatsoever Person or Country, Sect or Party of Men, had ever attempted such a Thing, must have been immediately detected by other Christians, who would have been soon acquainted with the Design; and, if the Zeal and Veneration which was always shewn for those Writings had not, the jarring Interests and Opinions certainly would, have sufficiently stimulated them to proclaim the Forgery.

* Tertul. *ibid.* & de Resurrect. c. 3. Iren. I. iii. c. 12. & Clem. Alex. Strom. I. vii. and the Authors collected by Dr. Whitby, p. 14. of his General Preface.

BUT

BUT what adds still to the Improbability is, that this suppos'd Falsification must have been made, if it ever was made, by Persons who abandon'd all Things for the sake of that Religion they are pretended to have corrupted and debauch'd; by Persons who chose to suffer the most direful Torments; nay, who sacrific'd their Lives, sooner than they would deliver to their Persecutors the Writings they are suppos'd to have us'd in so vile and dishonest a manner.

AND what is still more, this Villany must have been committed while the forg'd, or corrupted, Copys might have been confuted by an Appeal to the Originals, which we have great Reason to believe were preserv'd, till some of the Copys we now have, were taken. *Tertulian* * speaks of them as extant in his Time. And we are assur'd † by Authors of Credit, that the Original of St. *John's* Gospel was preserv'd at *Ephesus* in the Reign of *Honorius*, almost a Century after the Copy in our King's Library was written, the learned Editor of it having,

* Ibid.

† See Sir *Ch. Wolfeley's* Scr. Belief, p. 409. *Huetius's* Dem. Ev. Prop. i. § 15. and Bishop *Walton's* Proleg. vii. § 16.

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with great Probability *, conjectur'd it to be about 1400 Years old. That the Autographa of the Apostles should be so long preserv'd, is not at all incredible, if we consider the great Zeal and Veneration of the Christians of those Times, for every Thing which bore the Name of sacred and divine; and that several curious Gentlemen of our own Country can shew us the Hand-writing of eminent Persons, which has been preserv'd for more than twice that Time.

BUT after all there is no one who can prove that the Apostolical Writings have been corrupted; which might very reasonably be demanded of any one who makes the Supposition; it being only a bare Assertion without giving us any Reason to ground it upon: nor indeed has any learned Man ever yet imagin'd them to be so unfaithfully transmitted to us, as to have any moral Precept, or Article of Faith, in the least alter'd or perverted.

AND as to what our Deists alledge from the great Number of various Readings, if they had not as little Learning, or at least Ingenuity, as they pretend to

* *Grabe's Proleg. c. i. § 4.* See likewise *Dr. Mill's Proleg. p. 143.*

Piety, they would acknowledge them to be of no Consequence to the Substance of Religion. They appear plainly to be the Effect of human Frailty, Inaccuracy, and Mistake in transcribing or translating, and what might escape the best and most diligent Writer. And no one surely will pretend, that divine Providence was under any Obligation miraculously to continue the Infallibility of the Authors of Holy Writ down to every Librarian and Amanuensis, to prevent their making Mistakes. Such Objections would make one imagine, that there is nothing to be urg'd against the Genuineness of the Scriptures, but what will, upon due Examination; add Strength to their Authority, and end in the Praise of them. For the Multitude of various Readings are so far from arising from any Design or Contrivance to vitiate or falsify the Text; that notwithstanding Manuscripts have been collected from the most distant Parts of the World, and the most diligent Search every where made for them, and more of them met with than of any other Books, as the constant use of those Writings made them to be oftner transcrib'd, and all of them collated with the most religious Exactness, there is not any one Point of Faith * or

* See *Capellus*, as he is quoted by Bishop *Walton*, Proleg. vi. § 2.

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Morality, which is not to be found in the very worst Copy, and as capable of being prov'd by the most inaccurate, as the most correct. Which is a sufficient Demonstration that there has been no Collusion, no Interpolating, no design'd Alteration of Copys. And as for the native and genuine Sense of the Scriptures, 'tis so far from being the more precarious from the Number of various Readings, that 'tis render'd the more clear and certain * from them; the only Difficulty being to find out the true Reading from the false, which is not so great, as may be imagin'd, to a skilful and able Critic. The Observation of a very few Rules being all that is necessary, as Bishop *Walton* has sufficiently shewn †. The *English* Reader who has an Inclination to see more upon this Subject, may turn to the Bishop of *London's* third Pastoral Letter, p. 65. or to Dr. *Bentley's* Remarks on Free-Thinking, N^o 32.

A REVELATION of the divine Will, so pure and perfect as we have seen the Christian to be, deliver'd to Mankind by the Son of God himself, and testified by

* Bishop *Walton's* Proleg. vi. § 5.

† Ibid. § 6.

such eminent Miracles, should, it might be reasonably suppos'd, have stood the Test of Ages, without having its Divinity call'd in question. But it has not only at the Time 'twas first preach'd, but in our own too, found one Enemy or another, whose Lusts and Passions being inconsistent with the Purity of its Doctrine, have set themselves with great Malice against it. Under Pretence indeed of Reason, but in Fact against common Sense and Reason; without considering the outward Evidences of its being God's own Appointment, or answering any of those Arguments which have been brought and strongly urg'd in Proof of its divine Authority; there are People, who call upon us to * *believe not the Doctrines, because contain'd in Scripture; but the Scripture on Account of the Doctrines*; and † *to read the Scripture with the Freedom of assenting, or dissenting, just as we judge it agrees, or disagrees, with the Light of Nature, and the Reason of Things*. It may be reasonable indeed to try any human Authority by the Nature and Reason of the Thing; but 'tis absurd and profane, to do so, in any Case, wherein the divine Authority is

* Christianity as old as the Creation, p. 371.

† Ibid. p. 201.

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pleaded and fully prov'd. If these Gentlemen could shew, that what is contain'd in the Scriptures, implied a Contradiction, or was impossible to be true, 'twould be something; for no sort of Proof can make that to be believed by us, which is in itself incredible. But so long as they offer none of their Demonstration, nor indeed any Proof, of any such Thing; we may, with a religious Veneration, receive and believe all the Mysterys contain'd in them, own them to be above, but not contradictory to, our Reason. And, as such, the Belief of them is no more to be rejected by us, than of such natural Things which we come to the Knowledge of by the Light of Reason, and believe whether we will or no, and which are yet equally mysterious to us. For in the natural World there are several Things so plain, that we can make no question of the Truth of them, and are yet as much above the Comprehension of our Reason, as any Thing we meet with in the Word of God; as *the Creation and Cohesion of Matter*, &c. which whosoever pretends to account for, does but shew his own Ignorance. And surely we may as rationally believe divine Principles, whenever we are assur'd of the Divinity of the Relator of them, notwithstanding their Incomprehensibility; as natural Principles, upon the
Evidence

Evidence of natural Reason, which we are equally unable to comprehend. They have indeed the Presumption to pretend to be wise enough to direct God himself, and to determine what he could, or could not, do; and tell us, that he could command us the Belief of no such Things; that ** whatsoever is mysterious cannot be divinely reveal'd.* And that, because such Things must be taken upon Content and without any Examination; and God, as he has given us Reason as our highest Perfection, cannot oblige us to believe and act without it in Religion, our greatest Concern. But this is a false stating of the Case. Revelation no where commands us instantly to swallow every Thing, which is gilded with the specious Title of *divine.* It commands us *† to prove all Things,* and to *try the Doctrines* as well as *the Spirits,* whether they be of God. And therefore, tho we own and adore all the Mysteries of the Gospel, as indubitable Truths, we first see that they be sufficiently prov'd. But we don't do this by considering their Nature, or by examining and comparing Things together, because they are in their Nature heavenly Things, and so above an

* Christianity not Mysterious.

† 1 Thess. v. 21.

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earthly Capacity ; but by examining the divine Authority of the Person who has reveal'd them to us, and being once sufficiently assur'd that he was sent by God, and that God has, by his miraculous Power, attested whatsoever he has delivered to us, we are as rationally convinced of the Truth of them, as we are that they were related by him. For our Reason assures us, that whatever God has reveal'd is certainly true, and that no doubt can be made of it. Whether it be a divine Revelation, or not, Reason must judge, which can never permit us to reject a greater Evidence to embrace what is less evident, nor allow us to entertain Probability in Opposition to Knowledge and Certainty ; but when once allow'd to be such, it ought to overrule all our Opinions, Prejudices and Interests, and has a Right to be receiv'd with a full Assent,

BUT they proceed farther still, and represent the requiring a Belief of these Things, as ** shutting Heavens Gates against those, to whom before they were open ; And the All-good Being **, say they, *could not command us any Thing but for our Good.* But this Objection has been already ob-

* Christianity as old as the Creation, p. 250.

†P age 14.

viated. For those Principles of Religion, which we come to the Knowledge of from Revelation only, or, if you will, the Mysterys of our Religion, are, as we have seen, so far as they have come in our way, not merely speculative Points, but have a necessary Relation to the Performance of our Duty. The Rule of our Action could not have been made so compleat and excellent, nor have been built upon so sure a Foundation, without their being made known to us, nor we have had such cheerful Satisfaction in the working out of our Salvation. 'Tis Revelation which represents to us the Creation of the World, and the Innocence of our first State; the infinite Goodness of the ever blessed Trinity in redeeming us after we fell, and assisting us in raising ourselves to a better Condition; that thro' Faith in a crucified Saviour we may have recourse unto God by Repentance, be renewed by his Grace, and pardon'd by his Mercy; and that we may at last obtain a glorious Resurrection to Life eternal. Nay, there is not an Article of our Creed, which does not, as Bishop *Pearson* has shewn in his immortal Work, very much tend to the Advancement of our Nature, and teaching us our Duty to God, our Neighbour, or ourselves. They were not reveal'd to gratify

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tify vain Curiosity, but to advance Piety and make us more wise unto Salvation. And let any impartial Person then judge, if the Belief of these Things is not far from making the Way to Heaven more strait and difficult; if it does not assure us of a higher and more excellent Place there.

I SHALL take notice of but one Objection more and conclude this Chapter: Having been already longer on the Defense of Revelation, than I should have been, if the principal Design of it had not been the Destruction of Idolatry.

* *THE Design of God, say they, in communicating any Thing to us, being our Happiness; that Design would have oblig'd him, who, at all Times, alike desires our Happiness, to have, at all Times, alike communicated it to us; and therefore they conclude, that had there been any such Thing as a divine Revelation, 'twould have been equally made known to all Men in all Ages and Places. As to the Reasons of infinite Wisdom's having given to the World a clearer Revelation of his Will in one Age than in another, and to*

* Christianity, as old as the Creation, p. 364.

some People than to others, 'tis not for our finite Understandings to fathom. We have, in the Process of this Discourse, seen Religion corrupted in different Manners, and false Worship proceeding from one degree of Extravagance to another; and the Methods of Providence in making the divine Will known, that Men might reform and return to God; and so disposing of Affairs that no one could, if he was not wanting to himself, be ignorant of his Duty. This sufficiently clears the divine Goodness. But that God should have been more bountiful at one Time than at another, to some than to others, we can be no more surpriz'd at, than that all Men should not have had the same State and Condition given them in this Life; or that all the different Parts of the Creation should not have been made to the same Degree of Happiness and Perfection; why Men should not have been created Angels, Angels Arch-Angels, or the like. Which must have put the whole Creation upon the Level, and have prevented any difference of Rank and Degree amongst the Creatures. The Opportunitys, or Means, which the all-wise Governor of the Universe has given in different Ages, or to Persons in different Parts of the World, of improving and perfecting themselves, and raising

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sing themselves up to a Conformity and Likeness of God, are like the Differences in the natural Endowments of the Minds of Men ; some we find of a quick, piercing Disposition of Mind, always inquisitive, and capable of diving into the most abstruse Truths : whilst others, on the contrary, thro' a natural and invincible Dulness of Soul, are precluded almost from seeing any at all. The same Difference we see too, in the Passions and Inclinations of Men, which no body will say arises from any visible external Cause ; no, it is something interwoven in the very Nature and Constitution of every Man, which inclines him to one Thing more than another, and, which whether good or bad, is equally hard to be eradicated. From whence we find it as difficult to make a Person naturally of a good and virtuous Inclination, vicious, as 'tis to restrain the Impetuosity and Disorder of Vice, and reduce it to the Commands of Temper and Religion. They are both equally immoveable from that which their Nature leads them to. But sure no Man would argue hence against the divine Maker, or that our Facultys and Understandings were not all deriv'd from the Almighty ; and yet he might as well do this, as make it an Objection against Revelation, because 'tis of greater Benefit to
Some

Some than to Others. His infinite Wisdom best knows the most proper Seasons and Methods of imparting his reveal'd Will to Mankind; and 'tis our Duty to receive it with Deference and a religious Respect, whenever he does; and not to reject it because every one is not equally benefited by it. It is not for Man to know the Ways of the Almighty, they are properly suited to the incomprehensible Greatness of his Nature, as he is Lord and Governor of the Universe. 'Tis sufficient that what he wills, we are as sure as 'tis possible for us to be of any Thing, is most righteous and just; and we have nothing therefore to do, but to see that our Belief of his Will is well grounded.

BUT indeed with respect to their Salvation, the State of Mankind is not on so very different a Footing as is apt to be imagin'd. For however the learned Man may value himself upon a superior Genius and Capacity to the rest of Mankind; however the Christian, that he has seen in his Days the Light of the Gospel; he must remember that to whom much is given, from him will much be requir'd. On the other Hand, the poor of Soul may comfort himself, that to whom little, little; and the Blind of Understanding,

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standing, that God will not expect more from any one, than he has given him Ability to perform. Infinite Justice will allow for the different Capacitys and Understandings of Men, and the different Means of Knowledge which have been offer'd to them; nor will he require the same Improvement to be made of a few Talents, that he will of many; but of each in Proportion. And agreeably *St. Paul* tells us, as to the Point I am speaking to, that * *as many as have sinned without Law, shall also perish without Law, and as many as have sinned in the Law, shall be judged by the Law.* Those who have transgressed against the mere Light of Nature, shall be judged and punish'd by the Laws of Nature, whilst those who have sinned against the revealed Law, shall receive a Punishment proportionable to the Abuse of such a greater Light.

* Rom. ii. 12.

C H A P.



CHAP. V.

The Rise and Progress of the Idolatry of the Church of Rome. Sir Isaac Newton has plac'd it too early. Pictures and Images brought into Churches. The Troubles they occasion'd. Their Worship at last established: But not practis'd in England till about the Conquest. The Ignorance of those Times. Wickliffe's Character. He and his Followers oppose Saint-Worship. They are persecuted. Of the 5th of Richard II. Chap. 5. and the 2d of Henry IV. Chap. 15. They were Ordinances, not Acts of Parliament. Heresy punish'd with Death at Common Law. Sir John Oldcastle's Character and Mar-

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Martyrdom. A Reformation at
last effected, which freed Reli-
gion from the Evils complain'd of
by the Deists.*

WE are now come to a very surprizing Incident, that the Religion of *Christ Jesus*, which was, as we have seen, principally design'd to subvert and destroy Idolatry and Superstition, and which, by the Preaching of his Disciples, was receiv'd all the World over, should, after it had accomplish'd its Design, be itself wounded by the Enemy it had subdued. But true Religion had still the same Adversary, the Devil, to encounter with; who made use of his old Methods of seducing Mankind, when he introduced Idolatry and Polytheism into Christianity. Stones, Pillars and Statues, were, as I have shewn, first design'd by the Gentiles, only to preserve the Memory of the Dead. They met together at these Monuments of their Heroes and great Personages, to worship the true God, and commemorate their Benefactors, before they had any such Thing as Temples to assemble in. But in Process of Time they deified their departed Souls; and the Sacrifices, which they at first made to the true God at their
Tombs,

Tombs, they offer'd to them, and turn'd their funeral Monuments into Altars and Temples. Just so has Christianity been corrupted. The primitive Christians met together at the Tombs of their Martyrs to commemorate their Virtues; and their Prayers being quicken'd by the Remembrance of those brave Confessors, they offer'd them up there, yet to God alone. But in the 4th Century they proceeded farther; extravagant Panegyrics were us'd; and their Prayers were wish'd for: In the succeeding Centuries they were invoc'd as Intercessors with God: In the latter End of the 9th they had a Canon establish'd for their Canonization: And they concluded with making them altogether as very Gods as any of the Heathens; gave them the same Adoration, and worship'd them after the same Manner, and with the same Rites. As we have seen the Heathens paid their Devotion on the Tops of Hills and Mountains; so have the *Romanists* made Choice of the same Places for the Worship of their Saints. They carry the Images of them in the same pompous Procession on a Pageant, or *Thensa*, as the others did those of their Gods, and with the same superstitious Ceremonys, and the same Attendance. And, as if no Part of heathen Fanaticism was to be wanting, you may see them cur-

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ting and lacerating their Bodys, like the Priests of *Bellona*, *Isis* and *Astarte*, who thought to please their * *Goddeſs* by a *Sacrifice of their own Blood*. In ſhort, their religious Uſe of Incenſe and Perfumes, Holy Water, Lamps and Wax Candles; their Aſylums, votive Gifts and Offerings; their pretended Miracles and Images ſent from Heaven, will convince any one, who is the leaſt verſ'd in Antiquity and has look'd into their Practice, that they have not only adopted every heatheniſh Rite, and regulated them by the old pagan Ceremonial, but that the Priests of modern *Rome* have not in the leaſt ſuffer'd their Gentile Predeceſſors to out-do them in the Arts of Forgery and Impoſture. *The exact Conformity, or rather Uniformity, of Worſhip between Popery and Paganism*, in theſe and a great many other Inſtances, hath been ſo ſufficiently made good by Dr. *Middleton* in his late Letter from *Rome*, that 'tis enough for me to have hinted at them. I ſhall only obſerve, that they have likewiſe imitated the antient Heathens, in that which was the greateſt Reproach on their Religion, (may they imitate them likewiſe in Reforming) in the offering human Sacrifices: for what

* *Julius Firmicus.*

else can we make of an *Auto di Fe*? A Stranger, as it has been observ'd, who was to be present at that dire Spectacle, might justly take it for a human Sacrifice; and no one can say he would be much mistaken.

BUT whilst, as the Doctor I just now mention'd has observ'd, we see " *the present People of Rome* worshipping at " *this Day, in the same Temples— at the same Altars—* sometimes the *same Images—* and always with the *same Ceremonys, as the old Romans*; they must " *have more Charity, as well as Skill in Distinguishing,* than I pretend to, who " *can absolve them from the same Crime of Superstition and Idolatry with their Pagan Ancestors.*"

IT was impossible for Popery at once to arrive at this Height of Audaciousness. 'Twas a Work to be done by Degrees, and not without great Opposition. Sir Isaac Newton, whose *Observations upon the Prophecys of Daniel and the Apocalypse* were publish'd while these Sheets were in the Press, supposes three particular Steps to have been taken, which gave Occasion to the Invocation of Saints *. The first

* Page 209.

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to have been set on foot by the Persecution of *Decius*, the 2d by the Persecution of *Dioclesian*, and the third to have been owing to the Proceedings of *Constantius* and *Julian* the Apostate.

“ *GREGORY NYSSSEN*, says
 “ he *, tells us †, that after the Persecution of the Emperor *Decius*, *Gregory* Bishop of *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus*,
 “ instituted among all People, as an Addition or Corollary of Devotion towards
 “ God, that festival Days and Assemblys
 “ should be celebrated to them who had contended for the Faith, that is, to the
 “ Martyrs. And he adds this Reason for
 “ the Institution: *When he observed*, saith
 “ *Nyssen*, *that the simple and unskilful*
 “ *Multitude*, by Reason of corporeal Delights, remained in the Error of Idols;
 “ that the principal Thing might be corrected among them, namely, that instead
 “ of their vain Worship they might turn
 “ their Eyes upon God, he permitted that
 “ at the Memorys of the holy Martyrs
 “ they might make merry and delight themselves, and be dissolved into Joy. The
 “ Heathens were delighted with the Fes-

* Page 203, &c.

† Orat. de Vitâ Greg. Thaumaturg. T. iii. p. 574.

“ rivals of their Gods, and unwilling to
 “ part with those Delights; and there-
 “ fore *Gregory*, to facilitate their Con-
 “ version, instituted annual Festivals to
 “ the *Saints* and *Martyrs*. Hence it came
 “ to pass, that for exploding the Festivals
 “ of the Heathens, the principal Festi-
 “ vals of the Christians succeeded in their
 “ room: as the keeping of *Christmas* with
 “ Ivy and Feasting, and Playing and
 “ Sports, in the room of the *Bacchanalia*
 “ and *Saturnalia*; the celebrating of *May-*
 “ *Day* with Flowers, in the room of the
 “ *Floralia*; and the keeping of Festivals
 “ to the *Virgin Mary*, *John the Baptist*,
 “ and divers of the Apostles, in the room
 “ of the Solemnitys at the Entrance of
 “ the Sun into the Signs of the *Zodiac*
 “ in the old *Julian* Calendar.— By
 “ the Pleasures of these Festivals the
 “ *Christians* increas’d much in Number,
 “ and decreas’d as much in Virtue, until
 “ they were purged and made white by the
 “ Persecution of *Dioclesian*. This was
 “ the first Step made in the *Christian* Re-
 “ ligious towards the Veneration of the
 “ *Martyrs*: and tho it did not yet amount
 “ to an unlawful Worship; yet it dis-
 “ posed the *Christians* towards such a fur-
 “ ther Veneration for the Dead, as in a
 “ short Time ended in the Invocation of
 “ *Saints*.

“ THE next Step was the affecting
 “ to pray at the Sepulchres of the Mar-
 “ tyrs : which Practice began in *Diocle-*
 “ *sian's* Persecution.” Sir *Isaac* quotes
 several Canons proving that the Chris-
 tians at that Time used to pray in the
 Cemeterys or Burying-Places of the dead;
 “ for avoiding the Danger of the Perse-
 “ cution, and for want of Churches,
 “ which were all thrown down : and af-
 “ ter the Persecution was over, continued
 “ that Practice in Honour of the Mar-
 “ tyrs, till new Churches could be built ;
 “ and by Use affected it as advantageous
 “ to Devotion, and for recovering the
 “ Health of those that were Sick. It also
 “ appears that in these Burying-Places
 “ they commemorated the Martyrs yearly
 “ upon Days dedicated to them, and ac-
 “ counted all these Practices pious and
 “ religious.—They also lighted Torch-
 “ es to the Martyrs in the Day-Time,
 “ as the Heathens did to their Gods;—
 “ They sprinkled the Worshipers of the
 “ Martyrs with Holy-Water, as the Hea-
 “ thens did the Worshipers of their
 “ Gods.—From the Custom of pray-
 “ ing in the Cemeterys and Martyrys,
 “ came the Custom of translating the
 “ Bodys of the Saints and Martyrs into
 “ such Churches as were new built. —

“ AFTER

“ A F T E R the Sepulchres of Saints and
 “ Martyrs were thus converted into Pla-
 “ ces of Worship like the Heathen Tem-
 “ ples, and the Churches into Sepulchres,
 “ and a certain sort of Sanctity attributed
 “ to the dead Bodys of the Saints and
 “ Martyrs buried in them, and annual
 “ Festivals were kept to them, with Sa-
 “ crifices offered to God in their Name ;
 “ the next Step towards the Invocation of
 “ Saints, was the attributing to their
 “ dead Bodies, Bones and other Reliques,
 “ a Power of working Miracles, by
 “ means of the separate Souls, who were
 “ supposed to know what we do or say,
 “ and to be able to do us good or hurt,
 “ and to work those Miracles. This was
 “ the very Notion the Heathens had of
 “ the separate Souls of their antient
 “ Kings and Heroes, whom they wor-
 “ shipped under the Names of *Saturn*,
 “ *Rhea*, &c. — This was owing to the
 “ Proceedings of *Constantius* and *Julian*
 “ the Apostate. When *Julian* began to
 “ restore the Worship of the Heathen
 “ Gods, and to vilify the Saints and
 “ Martyrs, the *Christians* of *Syria* and
 “ *Egypt* seem to have made a great Noise
 “ about the Miracles done by the Reliques
 “ of the *Christian* Saints and Martyrs, in
 “ Opposition to the Powers attributed by

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" *Julian* and the Heathens to their I-
 " dols. — The Cry of Miracles being
 " once set on foot, continued for many
 " Years, and encreased and grew more
 " general. — The Miracle-working
 " Reliques of their Martyrs were distri-
 " buted over all the World, — inflam'd
 " the Devotion of the Nations towards
 " the dead Saints and their Reliques,
 " and set up the Religion of invoking
 " their Souls."

THE State, about this Time, becom-
 ing Christian, the Heathens came over
 in greater Numbers than they had before
 done, in outward Profession at least, to
 the Church. This sort of Christianity
 was more readily embrac'd by them, than
 what the Apostles had taught, for its
 great Affinity with their old Superstitions.
 The placing Religion in an Observation of
 Days, outward Forms, and the Worship
 of departed Spirits, and a Belief of their
 interesting and concerning themselves in
 the Affairs of Mankind, was agreeable to
 the Principles they had been educated in,
 and therefore what they were not averse
 to. As the modern *Indians*, we are told *,
 go readily over " to the Popish Reli-
 " gion, especially to the Worship of

* *Geogr. Survey of the West Indies*, Chap. 19.

" Saints and Images, because they look
" upon them as much like to their Fore-
" fathers Idols." As *Navarette* tells us *,
the *Chinese* Convert made his Idol *Kuon*
In Pu Sa to be the blessed Virgin, and
another called *San Pao*, consisting of three
equal in all Respects, to be no other than
the blessed Trinity.

HOWEVER, Saint-Worship was not
so generally receiv'd and practis'd, nor
so far spread, before the Year 378,
as Sir *Isaac* has represented † it to
have been. I shall readily acknowledge,
that about that Time the Invocation
of Saints begun to be held and prac-
tis'd by Some, especially by the *Monks*,
who had before sprung up and began now
to over-run the World; but there is no
Reason from the Proofs he has brought,
to believe that either the Invocation or
Intercession of Saints, was then of any
Standing, or any where receiv'd or prac-
tis'd by the Generality of the People.
The many Quotations he has collected to-
gether to found his Assertion upon, are
all of them later than that Period of
Time, unless it be those from *Basil*, the

* Account of *China*, B. ii. c. 9,

† Page 218 and 227.

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two *Gregorys* and *Ephraem Syrus*; and there is not one of the Passages taken from them, which are about twenty, that is from any Prayer, but from Sermons, Panegyricks upon Martyrs, and such like Oration, where the nicest Care ought to be taken in distinguishing between such Forms of Speech as are rhetorical and such as are proper, between a figurative Phrase and a real Prayer. And whosoever is acquainted with the bold Manner in which the *Greek Fathers*, especially those of the 4th Century, use *Apostrophes*, *Prosopopæias*, and such like Figures, and considers these Passages, will be far from thinking them a Proof of what they are brought for. And we ought besides to remember what *Theodore*t says*, that "no Rule of Doctrine is to be taken from the Panegyrical Oration of the Fathers."

BUT supposing the Passages from these four Fathers to be real and proper Invocations, they are only Evidence of their own Opinions, not of that of the Church, or of the Generality of the People in their Time. For even as to that Passage from *Gregory Nyssen's* Sermon, upon the Death

* Dialog. 3.

of *Meletius*, before the Council of *Constantinople* *, where speaking of him, he says, " The Bridegroom is not taken from us: He stands in the midst of us, tho we do not see him: He is a Priest in the most inward Places, and Face to Face interceeds before God for us and the Sins of the People." Supposing *Gregory* to have been of Opinion that *Meletius* did really interceed before God; we are not therefore, as *Sir Isaac* would have us, with *Baronius*, to conclude, that he profess'd what the whole Council, and therewith the whole Church of those Parts believ'd. For every one, who is the least acquainted with the antient Councils and Synods, knows, that tho this Sermon was preach'd before that Council, and might therefore be register'd with the Acts of it, it has not therefore any other Authority than that of the Preacher; for nothing can have the Authority of the Council but what is assented and subscrib'd to by the Fathers. And 'tis no unusual Thing to find not only Sermons, but Petitions, Disputations, &c. recorded amongst Synodical Acts, tho they be void of Authority, having been never ratified by those Assemblies.

I SHOULD not have said any Thing in Opposition to the Opinion of this great Man, if the Emissarys of the Church of Rome had not been so very busy at this Time in making Converts, that we ought not to allow any of her Corruptions an earlier Date than in Truth belongs to them; for if we should grant that Saint-worship sprung up in the Beginning rather than the End of the fourth Century, it could be no great Prejudice to the Protestant Cause, it being too late to make that a Catholick Doctrine, for which the least Shadow of Proof cannot be brought for the three preceding Centurys. Both Papists and Protestants pretend to be agreed in making *Vincentius Lirinensis's* Rule the Test of such Articles as we ought to retain *, *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est*. This Tenet therefore of Saint-worship commencing so long after the Time of our Saviour and his Apostles, is a Novelty, and no Catholick Truth.

I WISH the Inferences, which Sir Isaac Newton has made, in his first Chapter, from the Interpolations in the Books of *Moses*, and what he has asserted

* Advers. Hæreses, c. 3.

of the sacred Writings having been lost, were not more prejudicial to Christianity. If these things were to be granted, the *Hebrew Bible* would be no longer of any Authority. But the Force of his Conjectures and Assertions has been sufficiently consider'd, and fully answer'd, by *Bishop Patrick* in his Commentaries, and *Dean Prideaux* in his Connection, as likewise by several other very learned Men. This I thought it not improper to warn his unlearned Reader of, lest he should take what *Sir Isaac* has said, from the manner of his treating his Subject, without any Notice taken of any one's having ever consider'd the same Things before him, for new and important Discoverys. I am sorry to see Principles so favouring the Schemes of the Deists, with so great a Name affix'd to them; for the less considerate Part of Mankind, forgetting on what Foundation that has so justly been rais'd, may be apt to extend it to other Species of Learning, and make his Authority as great in all Things, as it deservedly is in that material one, Philosophy. A Person of such an exalted Understanding in variety of Sciences, is a mere Chimera of the Brain, never was, and never will be found. But yet I can't but observe it as a Foible frequently incident to great Men, to have affected such

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a Character, as I am speaking of: From a boundless, but faulty, Ambition, they have not been content with the first strong rais'd Monument of Glory, but must needs be adding something further to the Building, that from the Lightness of its Work, easily falls to the Ground; which though not destructive to the lasting first Erection, yet leaves a Dust and Rubbish about it, that one would rather should be remov'd. But I may be ranking, perhaps, this great Man among a Set of People, he don't deserve to be in Company with; and what he design'd only as an Amusement to himself, without the least Intention of publishing, and might afterwards see and know the Falsity of, his Heirs, from a less accurate Judgment, might think correct and proper to be presented to the World. But to return,

THERE was another Step likewise taken, which very much contributed to the Rise of Saint-worship, tho it be not taken notice of by Sir *Izaak Newton*. I mean the Introduction of Pictures and Images into Churches. Pictures were thought a proper Ornament, to excite the People to Virtue, and to imitate the Lives of their Confessors and Martyrs, whose Pourtraits were generally there hung up. But that an ill Use would be

made of them, was soon perceiv'd by the Fathers of the Council of *Eliberis* in *Spain*, who met *A. D.* 305, and repress'd their Use: which had that good Effect on the antient *Spanish* Church, that she kept herself undefil'd till her Dispersion by the *Moors* in the beginning of the 8th Century; as appears by the profound Silence of all her Writers, and of near forty Councils which were held by her before that Time, notwithstanding the frequent occasion they had to mention Pictures and Images, if they had, in any Sense, been receiv'd by that Church *. But in the East Pictures began to find a Place in the 4th Century, and were smartly oppos'd by *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Salamis* in *Cyprus*, who died about 403. He coming to the Church of *Anablatba*, not far from *Bethel*, found there, as he says in his Letter to *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, a † “ Curtain hanging over the
 “ Door of the Church, having the Pic-
 “ ture of *Christ*, or some Saint, painted
 “ upon it, for I do not well remember
 “ whose Picture it was: however, seeing
 “ the Figure of a Man hanging in a
 “ Christian Church, expresly against the

* See Dr. *Geddes's* Tracts, Vol. iii. Tract 1.

† Apud Hieron.

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" Authority of Scripture, I cut it in
 " Pieces, and order'd the Officers of the
 " Church to wrap it about the Corps of
 " a poor Man and bury it."

BUT notwithstanding the Opposition which *Epiphanius*, and a great many others, made to it, the Pictures and Statues of Martyrs, illustrious *Bishops*, and sometimes of their Princes, together with the Cross of *Christ*, were common in the Churches in the 6th and 7th Centurys *; but as yet they were only us'd for Ornament and an Incitation to Virtue, and there was no Sign, at least from the common Practice of the Church, of there being any Veneration paid them. *Gregory the Great* †, who came to the Popedom in 590, and several other learned Fathers, declar'd as much, that they were to be us'd only for Ornament, Memory or History, and no sort of Worship to be given them. But in the 7th Century we meet with many ‡ superstitious Tales and lying Wonders invented and spread abroad, to pave the Way for their Adoration.

* Cent. Magdeb. Cent. 6. c. 6, and Cent. 7. c. 6.

† Lib. vii. Ep. 109. and l. ix. Ep. 9.

‡ Cent. Magdeb. Cent. 7. c. 14.

AND

AND accordingly in the 8th Century, when Superstition flourish'd as Learning declin'd, the Worship of Pictures, Images, and Saints was introduc'd. But the Christian Church must first be made, under a Pretence of Zeal for Religion, a Scene of War, and all manner of Outrage and Injustice. This Impiety was first begun and afterwards carried on by the Power and Influence of the *Popes*, who watching all Opportunitys to aggrandize their See, and foreseeing what a Harvest this Superstition would bring to the *Shrine* of their *Diana*, steddily steer'd their Course, and stuck at nothing in Accomplishing its Settlement. *Pope Constantine* introduc'd the Confusion which follow'd *A D.* 712. by quarrelling with the Emperor *Philippicus Bardanes*, who having observ'd a Superstitious Regard paid in the Church of *Sophia* at *Constantinople* to the Pictures of the Fathers who assisted in the Six first general Councils, order'd them to be defac'd. Upon this the Pope exclaim'd against a Layman's meddling with religious Matters, order'd the Pictures of those Fathers to be painted in *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, excommunicated the Emperor, and forbid his Subjects to submit to his Authority, or his Effigy to be put upon Coin; he being an Enemy, as he called

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him, to the Pictures of the Saints. This Emperor was depos'd the next Year by his Nobles; and *Theodosius* III. who was set up against his Will, in that little time he reign'd, found it his Interest to submit to the *Pope*, and receive Pictures.

BUT in the next Reign the Quarrel was renewed. *Leo Isaurus* observing what Offence and Scandal both Pictures and Images gave to the *Jews* and *Saracens*, and that on their Account they charg'd Christianity with Idolatry, prohibited their Use. But this occasioning some Troubles, he call'd a Council at *Constantinople* in 726. which, after a solemn Disputation, condemn'd Images, and the Worship of Saints and Relicks, as downright Idolatry. And *Germanus*, who had presided in this Council, refusing to subscribe its Decrees, voluntarily resigned his Patriarchate.

POPE Gregory II. was alarm'd at this: He held a Synod the same Year at *Rome*, in which their Worship was approv'd, the Emperor's Decree condemn'd, He himself excommunicated, and the whole Empire put in a Flame. *Gregory* III. succeeded in the Papal Chair, and heighten'd the Commotions his Predecessor had rais'd. He depriv'd *Leo* of his

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his Empire, and anathematiz'd him a second Time, added to the Ceremonys with which the Saints were worship'd, and set up in the Church of *St. Mary's in the Stable*, a golden Image of the Virgin with Christ in her Arms. *Constantinus Copronymus* having succeeded his Father, he excommunicated him likewise, and set up *Artabasdus* for Emperor. But *Constantine*, having suppress'd the Rebellion, call'd a general Council at *Constantinople* in 754. in which were present 338 *Bishops*, who having examined the Point for near six Months, by Reason, the Scriptures, and Testimony of the Fathers, order'd Pictures and Images to be defaced, and the Relicks of Saints to be burnt; and having condemn'd their Worship as open Idolatry, excommunicated all who were guilty of it.

BUT this Quarrel was not to end so; *Pope Stephen IV.* in 768. condemn'd this Council in a Synod of *Italian Bishops*, who asserted the Honour of Images against the Eastern Iconoclasts. And this Emperor and his Son *Leo IV.* who was likewise an Enemy to Images, being both dead, the Empire devolv'd to *Constantine VII.* who was but Ten Years of Age, and was govern'd by *Irene* his Mother; a Woman scarcely to be parallel'd for Cru-

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elty and Ambition. She took new Measures, first allowed the Liberty of disputing for Images, and then, by the Pope's Approbation, call'd a Council at *Constantinople* A. D. 786. but their Design of restoring Image Worship was so oppos'd, that it broke up without doing any Thing. But this Difficulty she surmounted; the next Year she conven'd another Council at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, where that of *Constantinople* was exploded, and (*Dux Fæmina Facti*) the Worship of Images and Pictures settled. However, tho the Fathers of this Council allow'd the painting of Angels, thinking them to be corporeal, they expressly forbid it of God the Father, or the Holy Trinity. This, in the Infancy of Image Worship, was abhor'd by the most zealous Champions for it, as appears by the Acts of this Council, and the Authors taken Notice of by *Petavius* *.

AFTER this, Images and Pictures had all the Honours of Salutation, Genuflection, Lighting of Tapers, Burning of Incense, and the like superstitious Devotions, paid them. The Decrees of this Council were sent into the West; but met not with that kind Reception the Framers

* De Incar. l. 15. c. 14. n. 1.

of them wish'd for. *Charles the Great* upon his receiving them, either wrote himself, or at least had drawn up by his Direction, the *Caroline Books* in answer to them, and in 791. transmitted the Decrees into *England* to *Offa* King of *Mercia*. The whole Church was alarm'd at them here. We may judge of their Reception from what *Hoveden* tells us †: “ *Charles* King of the “ *Franks* sent over to *Britain* a Book of Synodical Acts directed to him from *Constantinople*; in which Book (to the shame “ of the Council be it spoken, and grief of “ all good Men) were held many Things “ disagreeable and directly contrary to the “ true Faith, especially that it was established by the unanimous consent of almost all the Eastern Clergy, no less than “ 300 Bishops, that it was lawful to worship Images, which thing the Church of “ God detests.” He goes on and tells us of *Alcuinus* or *Albinus*’s writing against this Doctrine. *Alcuinus* had been bred up under *Egbert* Archbishop of *York*, and was not only the greatest Promoter of Learning, but the most learned Person of his Time. Our Princes and Bishops sent him into *France*, to present his Book in their Name to the King : It had that good Ef-

† An. 792.

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fect, that in 794, *Charles* assembled a Council at *Frankfort* on the *Main*, in which were present about 300 Bishops, with Legates from the Pope. They, after a long and careful Examination, repeal'd and condemn'd the *Nicene* Council; and decreed, that tho Images and Pictures might be retain'd in Churches for History or Ornament, they were by no means to receive any sort of Worship or Adoration.

THIS was no more than had been before done by *Constantine* in the East, on his taking the Administration into his own Hands in 790.

BUT Image-Worship got ground there again upon his Mother *Irene's* seizing the Empire, having depriv'd him of his Sight in the very Chamber he was born in, and soon after of his Life.

IN 814 it was again abolish'd by the Emperor *Leo Armenius*, who reviv'd the *Constantinopolitan* Council. For this he was excommunicated by Pope *Paschal I.* and being soon after murder'd, was succeeded by *Michael the Lisper*, who in 824 sent Ambassadors to *Lewis the Pious*, with Letters in which he complains of the Disputes there had been about Images in
the

the East, and condemns all Veneration that was paid them.

To answer these Letters *Lewis* call'd a Synod of *French Bishops* the same Year at *Paris*. These Fathers steer'd a middle Course, they allowed the Historical Use of Images and Pictures, blam'd the Iconoclasts, but condemned those, " who honour them with an undue and superstitious Reverence, adore them, call them holy, and declare that they can attain to any Holiness by them." The Acts of this Synod were made up in Form of a Book, and sent to Pope *Eugenius II.* by *Lewis*. And this is supposed to be the Book mentioned by *Hincmar*, where he says, that "*Lewis* wrote a sharper Book against the Worship of Images than his Father, and that he sent an Embassy with divers Col-
lections against the Adoration of Images, charging them to dispute this Matter patiently and modestly with the Pope."

BUT notwithstanding this, and altho Image-Worship was again abolish'd in the East in 830. by *Theophilus Augustus*, the See of *Rome*, and her Emissarys, continuing at all Times obstinate in its Behalf, it was at last establish'd by *Theodora*, Mother to *Michael the Drunkard*, who had the Government in her Hands during

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her Son's Minority. She call'd a Council at *Constantinople* in 842. which declar'd in favour of this Idolatry, and restor'd *Methodius* to his Patriarchate, who had been depos'd by *Theophilus* for being too zealous an Assertor of it.

THE Controversy which *Photius* soon after rais'd in the Church, attract'd Peoples Attention, and banish'd all other Disputes; and the universal Ignorance which succeeded after the Death of *Charles the Great*, who had been a great Patron to Men of Learning, gave the Popes an Opportunity of firmly fixing the Power they had usurp'd, and the Sticklers for Image-Worship of putting in Practice their Methods of supporting it. National Synods were discountenanc'd; fabulous Storys and lying Miracles invent'd; their Adversarys misrepresented to their Disadvantage, and such as suffer'd in their Cause cryed up for Martyrs; and the 9th Canon of the 2d *Nicene* Council, for the burning the Writings against Image-Worship, was strictly executed, and such Passages of Scripture as charg'd it with downright Idolatry, suppress'd: The Second Commandment was left out of the Decalogue, and such Care was taken to suppress it in this Island, that it is not to be found in the Preface to King *Alfred's*

Alfred's † Laws, which begins with the Ten Commandments; and Mr. *Lambert* says, he could never meet with it in any Copy of the Commandments in the *Saxon* Language, tho, as we shall presently see, this could be only to prepare the Way; for Image-Worship was far from being establish'd in the *English Saxon Church*. And so in the *Trent Catechism*, tho it was drawn up for the Use of the Priests of the Church of *Rome*, and in the *Latin* Tongue, p. 299. where it takes Notice of *Rom. i. 23.* it reads, *chang'd the Glory of the incorruptible God into the Similitude of Birds, &c.* leaving out the Words, *into an Image made like to corruptible Man*, which come between. By these Means, instead of Justice, Mercy and Humility, People's Religion was made to consist in Pilgrimages, and the Worship of the blessed Virgin, Saints and Relicks.

HOWEVER, the World in those Ages was not so well acquainted with the *Pope's* Infallibility, or Jurisdiction, as immediately to receive this Doctrine every where. It is certain it was not establish'd in *France*, when *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, who flourish'd towards the latter End

† *Sir H. Spelman's Counc. v. 1. p. 354*

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of the 9th Century, publish'd his Translation of the *Nicene Synod*. Nay, *Pet. Pithæus*, who wrote in 1568, ingenuously confesses, || "It was then but very lately that those " of the Gallican Church began to be fond " of Images." And it is plain from *Nicetas Choniates* *, that it was not receiv'd in Germany in 1185. for he says, that when *Frederick Barbarossa* march'd against the *Saracens*, the *Armenians* took the *Germans* for Friends, because the Adoration of Images was forbid in their Worship. And *Aventinus* tells us †, that Pope *John XXII.* who came to the Papacy *A. D.* 1316 condemn'd some to the Flames in *Bohemia* and *Austria*, for painting the holy Trinity.

As for *England*, I do not find that Image-Worship or the Invocation of Saints was ever made here, by any regular Authority, a part of the establish'd publick Worship of the Church, or that we ever had any Synod which declar'd in Favour of it, till the Synod of *Oxford* in 1408. which was, as we shall see, after they

|| Præf. ad Pauli Diac. Hist.

* Lib. 2.

† Annal Bojorum l. vii. p. 751. and Ysambertus de Myst. Incarnat. ad q. 25. Disp. 3. Art. 7.

began

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began to burn the *Lollards* for denying it. An innocent Use of Pictures had indeed a pretty early footing amongst us. *Bede* * tells us, that when *Austin*, and the Monks his Followers, came hither (whose Business seems to have been as much to † make the *Welsh* or *British Bishops* conform to the *Roman Church*, and acknowledge the Pope's Jurisdiction, as to convert the *Saxons*) and were introduced to King *Ethelbert*, they had a Silver Cross, and a Picture of our blessed Saviour, carried before them. But the Historian is so far from telling us that they were worship'd or ador'd, that he says they were *pro Vexillo*, by way of Standard. So the Synod that was held at *Celichyth* by *Wulfred Archbishop* of *Canterbury* in 816. in the second Canon decrees ‡, " That every Bishop shall have " painted on the Wall of his Chancel, or " in a Picture, or at the Altar, to what " Saint they are dedicated." But that these Pictures were intended only in an Historical Way, in Honour of the Memory of the Person represented, is plain from there not being one Word in the Canon of any Veneration to be paid them: and

* *Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. 25.*

† *Mr. Rapin's Hist. of Engl. v. i. l. 3,*

‡ *Sir H. Spelman ibid. p. 328.*

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that this Synod could not make this Decree out of any Respect to the *Nicene* Council, which had been held 29 Years before, is not only plain from what our Church had but just before declar'd by *Alcuinus*, but from this very Canon's decreeing that Churches might be consecrated without any Martyr's Relicks; which is a direct Contradiction to that Council. And that no such Thing could be practis'd by the Church in 943. is certain from the 9th Constitution of *Odo Archbishop of Canterbury*, which commands the Festivals of Saints to be kept holy and no secular Business to be perform'd on them, "in Conformity to Canon and Precedent;" * and that they should not "give into vain Superstitions, nor adore "with Magick Charms the Creature for "the Creator."

T H E R E are two places in our Councils, where we might have expected to meet with something of Image or Saint-Worship, if it had been the common Practice of the Church: the one is in the Form of Confession at the end of the Constitutions † publish'd under King *Ed-*

* *Sir H. Spelman, ibid. p. 417.*

† *Ibid. p. 457.*

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gar, A. D. 967. where there are very particular Directions both for the Penitent and Confessor: The Penitent is commanded to make his Confession to God and his Confessor, and to pray to *Christ Jesus* for Pardon; but not a Word, thro'out the whole Process, of any Address or Prayer to *Saint* or *Angel*, which could not have been well omitted, the Directions are so full and exact, if it had been the establish'd Practice of the Church. The other is in the Ecclesiastical Laws of King *Ethelred* *, at the Synod of *Haba* in 1012. where there is three Days Fast enjoin'd, with very particular Directions for keeping it, barefoot Processions commanded, every Priest to say each Day thirty Masses, those under that Order thirty *Psalms*; but not one Word of Prayer to any Image, Saint, Angel, or the blessed Virgin.

BUT about this Time, we meet with some remote Traces of the Invocation of Saints. The first that occurs to me is in a *Saxon* MS. Martyrology of St. *George*, taken notice of by Mr. *Selden* †, which he supposes from the Language

* Ibid. p. 531.

† Titles of Honour, *part* ii. c. 5. § 43.

and

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and Hand to be about the Age of Archbishop *Dunstan*, who died *A. D.* 988. In this Martyrology that Saint (who as some, and those very learned Men too*, believe never had any Being at all, unless you will make him the same as *George* the *Arian* Bishop of *Alexandria*) at his Death prays for all who should use his Name; upon which, as Mr. *Selden* translates it, "There came a Voice from Heaven, saying, Come thou blessed; and whosoever shall in any Danger or Place call on my Name thro' thee, him will I hear." After this in 1032. we meet with a Charter of King *Canutus* to *Glassenbury* Abby, in the Conclusion of which we read †, "But if any one shall out of good Will comply with these Things, may God, by the Intercession of *Mary* the blessed Mo-

* "Calvin, says a Gentleman who favours the Existence of this Saint, in the third Book of his *Institutions*, where he charges the Church of *Rome* for giving excessive and dangerous Honours to the Saints, has these Words, *Nil eos Christo reliquum facere, qui pro nihilo ducunt ejus Intercessionem, nisi accedant Georgius, aut Hippolitus, aut similes Larvæ*; as much as to say, as Dr. Reynolds interprets him, That St. *George* and several other Saints had never any more than a romantick and chimerical Existence. *Chemnitius*, who wrote the *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, was of Calvin's and Reynolds's Opinion, and so likewise was *Perkins*, and Dr. *Boys* Dean of *Canterbury*."

† Sir H. Spelman, *ibid.* p. 537.

" ther

“ther of God, and by the Intercession of
 “all the Saints, enlarge his Portion in the
 “Life to come.” That learned Antiquary
 Sir *H. Spelman* does indeed observe upon
 this Charter, that the Invocation of Saints
 was frequently practis’d at this Time :
 and in Confirmation of his Opinion he
 produces a *Saxon Psalter* in the publick
 Library at *Cambridge*, in which, after the
 Holy Trinity is address’d to, there fol-
 lows, “O Holy *Mary*, pray for us, Holy
 “Mother of God, pray for us: Holy Vir-
 “gin of Virgins, pray for us:” and then
 the Arch-Angels and heavenly Host are
 address’d to, as now by the Church of
Rome. But there is no such thing in the
 publick *Saxon* Office of Canonical Hours,
 translated by Mrs *Elstob*; the Manner of
 mentioning them there, is, as in the Char-
 ter of *Canutus*, very remote: “May the
 “Virgin *Mary*, the Holy Mother of God,
 “and all the Saints of God, intercede with
 “the Lord, for us Sinners, that we may
 “receiye from him Help and Salvation :”
 which is no more than a devout Wish,
 or Desire, grounded on the Belief of the
 general Intercession of Saints. But then
 the *Saxon* Homily on the fictitious *As-*
sumption of the blessed Virgin, concludes,
 “Come then and let us earnestly pray
 “the blessed *Mary*, who was this Day
 “taken up,” &c.

I MAKE

I MAKE no doubt but that this Idolatry began about this Time to spring up. People's Minds were so taken up with their Misfortunes, the Pagan *Danes* incessantly harassing this Kingdom from 787 to 1042, that they had scarcely the Liberty of professing their Religion, much more of examining such Things as they who had travell'd to *Rome* for Bulls, &c. or had been educated in the College founded there by King *Ina*, (to which there was a great Concourse from hence for Education, and which prov'd of the worst Consequence to the Kingdom) were zealous to introduce and obtrude upon them.

AND those who had brought but the least Learning with them from thence, had the fittest and most convenient Season to sow their Tares, thro' the profound Ignorance of those Times. Learning was at so low an Ebb in 695, that in the Conclusion of a Charter * of *Withred* King of *Kent*, to *Eabba* the Abbes, he says, "that being illiterate he had mark'd it with the Sign of the

* Sir H. Spelman, *ibid.* p. 193.

“ Cross:” and he concludes another Charter * of his of Libertys to the Church in the same Manner. Letters were not in a more flourishing Condition in 901. King *Alfred* himself tells us in his Preface to *St. Gregory's Pastoral*, that † “ Learning was then so decay'd in the *English* Nation, that very few Priests on this side of *Humber* could understand the common Service of the Church; and he knew none South of *Thames* who could turn an ordinary Piece of *Latin* into *English*, tho' Things were then something better; yet that he himself had turn'd this Book into *English* by the help of Archbishop *Plegmond*, with *Grimbald* and *John* his Priests.” And afterwards in 1061. it was accounted a vast Atchivement in a Clergyman to have learnt his Grammar ‡. And in 1222. the Council held at *Oxford* ||, was forc'd to enact, that Arch-Deacons should take care that Clergymen should rightly pronounce the Formulary of Baptism, and the Words of the Consecration in the Canon of the Mass. And *Wickliff* who

* Ibid. p. 198.

† Apud *Tyrrel* l. v.

‡ Mat. Paris, ad An. 1061. p. 5:

|| Lindwood de Off. Ar. c. i.

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flourish'd about 1370 complains, that there were then many Curates who knew not the Ten Commandments, and could not read one single Verse in the Psalter *.

AND what little Learning they had was employed in the Dispute between the Regular and Secular Clergy, and concerning the Marriage of Priests, which was fomented by St. *Dunstan* on his Promotion to the Arch-Bishoprick of *Canterbury* in 959. and was not ended before another sprung up, which was carried on with the like Zeal, and was of more Consequence to the State, concerning the Clergy's receiving Investitures at Lay-Hands, which was occasioned by a Decree of the Synod at *Rome* in 1099. and which was soon succeeded by that of Clerks refusing Subjection to the King's Courts.

NEITHER had Learning any better Face abroad: *Erasmus* tells us †, that during the Age of the Schoolmen, Barbarism had overspread all Christendom; their little Learning was employed only

* Great Sentence of Curse expounded, c. iii. 16. in a Collection of his Tracts in MS. in *Bennet Coll. Camb.* and *Trialogus*, p. 66 and 72.

† Epistle to the Arch-Bishop of *York*.

in colouring the Errors and Superstitions which had crept into the Church, by nice and subtle Distinctions, and more Sophistry than they who went before them were Masters of. *Musculus* says of the Clergy, that many of them never saw the Scriptures; and *Sextinus Anama* assures us, that an Arch-Bishop of *Mentz* knew not what Book a Bible was, which he accidentally met with. In short, the State and Condition of Learning was just such as *Pope Paul II.* desir'd it should be, who, as *Platina* assures us *, could not bear the Name of an Academy, call'd Scholars Hereticks, and exhorted the *Romans* not to suffer their Children to go too long to School.

THIS gross Ignorance, and the Troubles I just now took Notice of, which molested both Church and State here, gave great Opportunity to such as had been educated at *Rome*, to corrupt our Religion; and to "the Fryers as Bishop *Bale* tells us †, with their "charming Sophistry, to throw such a "dark Mist over the universal World, "that Superstition could not be known

* Towards the End of his Life.

† Cronycle concerning Sir John Oldcastle.

“ for Superstition, nor Idolatry for Ido-
 “ latry.” I shall give you the Character
 of the Religion of those times, as I meet
 with it in a Writer who was well vers'd
 in our Ecclesiastical History. “ Religion,
 “ says he *, had now pass'd thro' so
 “ many ignorant and barbarous Ages;
 “ the Means of greater Knowledge had
 “ been so studiously hidden from the
 “ People, and the Ignorance of the Laity
 “ was so advantageous to the Interest of
 “ the Clergy, that the true Spirit of
 “ Christianity seem'd to be wholly lost,
 “ and had degenerated into Shews and
 “ Ceremonys, many of which were un-
 “ lawful, but almost all unuseful. And
 “ not only this fatal Stupidity and idle
 “ Superstition had generally possess'd the
 “ Minds of Men, but all Remedys were
 “ detested, and all Artifices used to con-
 “ tinue the Disease.” † “ The incredi-
 “ ble Fables of Legends, and incurable
 “ Itch of lying for the Honour of their
 “ Saints and Patrons, which then reign-
 “ ed among all the Monastick Orders,
 “ (which was almost the only Subject on
 “ which they preached) and was fondly

* Mr. Wharton's Preface to Bishop Peacock's Treatise,

p. 34.

† Ibid. p. 36.

“ received by the credulous Multitude,
 “ were one of the greatest Scandals, and
 “ most pernicious Abuses in the Church
 “ at that Time. The greater and more
 “ necessary Articles of Faith, and all
 “ genuine and rational Knowledge of Re-
 “ ligion had generally given Place to fa-
 “ bulous Legends, and romantick Storys;
 “ Fables which in this respect only dif-
 “ fer’d from those of the antient Hea-
 “ then Poets, that they were more incre-
 “ dible, and less elegant.”

BUT to bring Religion into this State was a Work of Time, and not to be at once perfected. The Corruption before us was not general, when *Leofric* Bishop of *Exeter* died in 1073. This * Prelate gave a famous Missal to his Cathedral, which is now in the *Bodleian* Library. In this God is address’d, to restore the Demoniacks for the Merits of the Angels, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Virgins, &c. without any particular mention of the *blessed Virgin*. Upon the Festival of *St. Michael*, it implores God for the Benefit of *St. Michael* and the Prayers of all the Angels; but there is no direct Application to any of them: and the Intercession

* Mr. Collier’s Eccl. Hist. l. iv.

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of the blessed Virgin is begg'd, tho not in a direct Address to herself. But after the Conquest, our *Norman* Princes making *French* Men *Bishops* and *Abbots*, who brought their *French* Opinions with them, Image-Worship became soon after the general Practice of the Church,

THIS is certain, that 'twas the suppos'd Doctrine of the Church of *England*, when *Wickliff* made his Appearance, in 1360 *, and by his Preaching and Writings pav'd the Way for examining such Superstitions and Idolatrys, as had in Defiance of Scripture crept into the Church. From a Fellow of *Merton* College in *Oxford*, he was made Master of *Baliol* College, and Warden of *Canterbury* Hall; and having taken the Degree of Doctor, was Divinity Professor in that University. † He was equally eminent for his Piety, Gravity and Wisdom, and for his great Parts and Learning. His singular Abilitys and eminent Virtue, had gain'd him an universal Reputation before he was brought to Court, where his great Knowledge in the Common Law made him very useful both to *Edward* III. and

* Bishop *Bale*.

† *Leland de Scrip. Brit.* p. 379.

Richard II. in defending the Prerogatives of the Crown; and gave him a remarkable Share in the contriving many excellent Statutes in those two Reigns to curb the exorbitant Power of the Pope. He was sent by the former of those Princes, in 1374, Ambassador * to the See of Rome. But the Pontiff's Court made no Impression upon his Mind, unless it was to make him still more sensible of the Pride, Covetousness, Ambition and Tyranny of the Papacy †. We find him soon after in *England*, Rector of *Lutterworth* in *Leicestershire*, and at the Head of a Multitude of Followers; rejecting the Invocation of Saints, and Adoration ‡ of Images, as open Idolatry and Apostasy from the Christian Faith; and condemning Pilgrimages || as a ridiculous Superstition. His Tenets flew over the whole Kingdom; and his Disciples, who were call'd *Lollards* *, daily increas'd, alarm'd the Clergy, and put the Prelacy

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* *Rymer*, Tom. vii. p. 41.

† *Trialogus*, l. iii. c. 30. printed in *Germany*, 1525.

‡ See the Quotations from his Writings in *Mr. Lewis*, p. 349.

|| *Ibid.* p. 350.

* There is no doubt but this was a reproachful Name, given by the Clergy in these Times to the *Wickliffites*. *Lindwood* and others imagine it to have been taken from *Lolium*, *Darnel*

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cy upon contriving Methods to suppress them. They sent nineteen Articles extracted from his Lectures and Sermons to the Pope, which brought over from *Gregory XI.* three Bulls * of the same Date. One directed to the King, desiring his Favour and Assistance in the Prosecution of *Wickliff*; another to the University of *Oxford*, commanding him and his Followers to be deliver'd up to Justice; and the third to *Simon of Sudbury*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Courtney*, Bishop of *London*, requiring them to arrest and keep *Wickliff* in Prison, till his Holiness's farther Pleasure was known. But these Bulls had not the Effect intended. *Edward* died in *June 1377*, before they reach'd *England*; and his Followers were grown so numerous, not only amongst the inferior Sort of People, but those of Quality and Learning, that 'tis probable

Darnel or *Tares*, branding them as if they had been the *Tares* sown by the Devil in God's Church. But Mr. *Fuller*, (*Church Hist.* p. 163.) with *Trithemius*, (in *Cron.* Anno 1315.) supposes they were called so from one *Walter Lollardus*, who flourish'd many Years before *Wickliff*, and was Author of some Opinions then accounted Heretical; from whence those who afterwards broached any new Doctrine, tho not Followers of him, or acquainted with his Principles, were call'd by their Enemys *Lollards*. See for the Word *Lollard*, *L' Enfant Histoire du Concile de Pise*, Tom. ii. p. 289. & *Biblioth. German.* Tom. ix. 4.

* *Walsingham's Hist. Angl.* p. 201, &c.

the

the Bull sent to the University was reject-
ed with Ignominy and Disgrace *. And
when the Arch-Bishop and Bishop of
London would have executed theirs in a
Synod held the *February* following at St.
Paul's, *Wickliff* came attended by the
Duke of *Lancaster*, who was Uncle to
the new King, and the Lord who had
the greatest Power during the Minority
of his Nephew, by the Lord *Henry*
Piercy Earl Marshal, and several others
of the Nobility, who had embrac'd his
Tenets, and would not suffer him to be
receiv'd as a Person accus'd, but as a
Doctor present to give his Vote and Opi-
nion in the Synod. The Assembly broke
up in Riot and Confusion; and the De-
legates made another Attempt to execute
their Commission, in a Synod at *Lam-*
beth in *June* 1378, but were deterred from
coming to any definitive Sentence by a
Message they receiv'd from the Queen
Mother by Sir *Lewis Clifford* †.

THE Pope died this Year, which put
an End to the Commission that had given
Wickliff so much Trouble, and gave
Rise to the Schism occasioned by the

* *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, p. 396.

† *Walsingham's Hist. Angl.* p. 205.

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Election both of *Urban VI.* and *Clement VII.* which lasted above fifty Years, for which time one Pope call'd another Apostate, Heretick, Antichrist, and Son of Perdition; so that the most learned and conscientious could not tell to which of them they ought to adhere. This was an Advantage *Wickliff* knew very well how to improve, as appears by the Writings he now publish'd, *Of the Schism of the Church of Rome; Speculum de Antichristo; De Christo & Antichristo;* and on the like Subjects.

THE Situation he was now in very much forwarded the propagating of his Opinions. He was Chaplain to *Richard II.* and in that King's first Parliament, had the Honour to resolve some Doubts refer'd to him by the Commons, arising from the Opposition they made * to the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*: and in the next Session he gain'd himself a Character by a Treatise he presented to the Lords †, in which the Sum and Substance of his Doctrines was contain'd; which spread his Principles amongst the Nobility, and drew several of them over

* Exact Abridgment, p. 160, &c.

† *Walsingham's Hist. Angl.* p. 283.

to his Side. He enjoyed likewise the Protection and Countenance of a great many of the first Rank amongst the Commons * who espous'd his Cause in exposing the Abuses and Superstitions which had crept into the Church. *Wickliff* was too vigilant and industrious not to improve his Fortune; he let no Opportunity slip him, either in publick or private, of spreading his Notions amongst the People.

HIS ENEMYS of the Clergy too were not idle. They took into Consideration their own Power. 'Tis not agreed how far it reach'd. There is no doubt but that the Bishops had, by the antient Common Law of the Church, the judging of, and convicting for, Heresy, Schism, and Errors in Religion, according to the *King's Ecclesiastical Laws* †. But the Generality of our Historians suppose Heresy not to have been punish'd here with Death, before the 2d of *Henry IV.* and that Sir *William Sawtre* was the first who was executed upon Account of Religion. We are expressly told so by Mr. *Fuller* ‡, who is followed by Mr. *Collier*, as well

* Knyghton de Event. Angl. Coll. 2661, &c.

† See *Cowdrey's Case* in the 4th Report, p. 40.

‡ Church History of Britain, p. 155.

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as by Bishop *Burnet*, who says, that
 “ *England* was not so tame as to bear
 “ the Severity of those Laws, which
 “ were settled and put in Execution in
 “ other Kingdoms.” But my Lord Chief
 Justice *Coke* seems to me to have been
 better acquainted with our Constitution,
 “ It appeareth,” says he, “ by *Bracton*,
 “ *Briton*, *Fleta*, *Stanford*, and all our
 “ Books, that he who is duly convict of
 “ Heresy, shall be burnt to Death *.”
 And accordingly we read of Persons who
 so suffered for their Religion long be-
 fore *Henry IV.* Cardinal *Langton* in a
 Synod held at *Oxford* in 1222, con-
 demn'd three Persons and deliver'd them
 over to the Secular Power, two of whom
 were immur'd to death between four
 Walls †, and the other, (a Deacon, who,
 out of Love to a *Jewish* Woman, had re-
 nounc'd Christianity) was tied to a Stake
 and burnt. And a Chronicle ‡ of *London*
 mentions one of the *Albigenses*, who was
 burnt there, *A. D.* 1210. Mr. *Camden*,
 where he takes notice of the Barbaritys
 acted on Account of Religion in *Queen*
Mary's Reign, seems to fix the Rise of

* 3 Inst. p. 43.

† Mat. Westm. ad An. 1222.

‡ The Preface to *Bale's* Cronycle of Sir *John Oldcastle*.

this to King *John's* Time, *Plures ex omni Ordine*, says he, *Episcopos, Verbi Ministros, & Plebeios hoc diro Supplicio Quinquennio absumpserunt, quam (ut quidam observârunt) Henricus VIII. totis 37 Annis, vel Anglia viderit, ex quo regnante Joanne, Christiani in Christianos apud nos Flammiis sœvire cœperint* *. But before the Reign of that Prince, at a Council held at Oxford A. D. 1159, thirty German Hereticks, call'd *Publicans*, were deliver'd over to the secular Power, mark'd with a red-hot Iron on the Forehead, whip'd, and then turn'd out of Doors in the midst of Winter, where they died with Cold and Hungar, no man daring, it being expressly forbid, to relieve them †. *Newbigensis* tells ‡ us, that these were the first Hereticks, who ever pestered *England*, and *Hoveden* that they were very numerous ||. *Fox* says of them, that their Heresy consisted in preaching against the Church of *Rome*, maintaining that Prayer was not more holy in one Place than in another, that the *Pope* was *Antichrist*, and that the Clergy and Prelates of *Rome*, were

* In Apparat. ad Eliz. ad finem.

† Mr. *Tyrrell's* Hist. ad An. 1159.

‡ L. ii. c. 13.

|| Ad Annum 1182.

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the very *Whore of Babylon* prefigured in the *Revelations*. *

BUT the Crime our Common Law punish'd with *Burning*, was *Apostasy*, not what we now mean by *Herefy*. " *In Case of Apostasy* (says Bishop *Stillingfleet* †) " i. e. renouncing Christianity, *Bracton* " † saith, *The Person convict is to be burned*; and he instanceth in the *Deacon who turned Jew, in the Council of Oxford*: And *Fleta* speaks || only of *Apostates, whether Clerks or Others*; and " those are the *Misceants* in *Briton* **, " and in *Horn* ††. *Herefy* was then the " same with renouncing *Baptism*, or turn- " ing *Jew or Turk*, or using *Sorcery*; but " after *Wickliff's Time* the *Ordinarys* in- " larged the Notion of *Herefy*, and took " upon themselves to be sole Judges of " it." And this, as he tells us, is one Reason alledged by 25 H. 8. c. 14. for the Repeal of the 2 H. 4. c. 15. because there is no Declaration of *Herefy* made

* Acts and Monuments, p. 183.

† On the Illegality of the Ecclesiastical Commission, p. 24.

‡ Bracton, l. iii. c. 9. n. 2.

|| Fleta, l. i. c. 29. n. 7.

** Briton, c. ix.

†† Horn, ch. ii. § 22.

in it, but it was left to the Judgment of the *Ordinary*. But to return.

THE Bishops however found what they thought a very great Defect in their Power. For tho the Law punish'd Apostasy, or, if you will, *Heresy* with Death, it did not invest them with an Authority to imprison for it; so that almost every one who was convicted, immediately convey'd himself away, at least before the King's Writ could be obtain'd, and by that Means made the *Bishop's* Sentence ineffectual. "It is agreed," says my Lord Chief Justice *Coke*, in setting down the Resolution of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, 9 *Jac.* "that all Ordinarys and Ecclesiastical Judges whatsoever, ought in all Ecclesiastical Causes to have proceeded according to the Censures of the Church, and could not in any Case have punish'd any Delinquent by Imprisonment, unless they had Authority so to do by Act of Parliament. And the Papal Authority (as hath been confessed) did never imprison in any Case, but ever proceeded only by Ecclesiastical Censures *." And in another Place he tells us, that "the Ec-

* 4 Inst. p. 324.

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“ ecclesiastical Judge could not commit the
 “ Person that is convict of Heresy to
 “ the Sheriff, albeit he be present, to
 “ be burnt, but must have the King’s
 “ Writ *de Hæretico comburendo*, according
 “ to the Common Law *.”

THE Prelates had before been sensible of this Defect in their Power, and therefore in particular Cases, had Recourse to the Crown for Leave to imprison Hereticks. We are told †, that there are several Proofs in the Collection of Publick Acts of the *Bishops* imprisoning with the King’s Consent. Mr. *Rapin* particularly refers us to a Grant in *Rymer*, of Leave from *Edward III.* to the *Bishop* of *London* to imprison *Nicholas de Drayton* for Heresy, dated *March 20th 1370.* from the wording of which one would conclude it to have been agreeable to the Laws of the Church: *Cum igitur, Sancta Mater Ecclesia ita tales Hæreticos prosequitur, ne suo Veneno alios inficiant, ut in Carceribus custodiri præcipiat ‡.*

BUT these Licences, it may be, being but sparingly granted, and the Prelates

* 3 Inst. p. 43.

† Mr. *Rapin*’s Hist. l. ix. ad An. 1381.

‡ Tom. vi. p. 651.

finding,

finding, as they conceiv'd, too frequent an Occasion for them, they consider'd how they might save themselves the Trouble of solliciting, and the Crown of granting them. They wanted not to be invested with a Power of convicting for Heresy ; but of taking Cognizance of it with Effect. To do this a new Law was necessary. They very well knew that the Commons would not be brought into their Measures, and that without their Consent a *Statute* could not be made. It being impossible therefore for them to obtain an *Act*, they resolv'd to bring their Design about by an *Ordinance* of Parliament, and got it *ordain'd*, by the King and Lords, upon the Petition of the Clergy, *that the King's Commissions be made and directed to the Shiriffes, and other Ministers of the King, or other sufficient Persons learned, and according to the Certifications of the Prelates to be made in the Chancery from Time to Time, to arrest all Preachers of Heresy, and also their Fautors, Maintainors and Abettors, and to hold them in Arrest and strong Prison, till they will justify to them according to the Law and Reason of holy Church.*

This *Ordinance* has been the Subject of some Dispute. " The supposed *Act* of " the 5th of *Richard II.*" says my Lord

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Chief Justice *Coke*, “ was in Truth ne-
 “ ver any Act of Parliament, tho it was
 “ enter’d upon the Parliament Roll; for
 “ that the Commons never gave their
 “ Consent thereunto*. And therefore in
 “ the next Parliament the Commons
 “ prefer’d a Bill, reciting the said sup-
 “ pos’d Act, and constantly affirmed,
 “ that they never assented thereunto, and
 “ therefore desir’d, that the said suppos’d
 “ Statute might be aniented and declar’d
 “ to be void; for they protested, that it
 “ was never their Intent to be justified,
 “ and to bind themselves and their Suc-
 “ cessors to the Prelates, more than their
 “ Ancestors had done in Times past: and
 “ hereunto the King gave his Royal Assent.
 “ And mark well the manner of the Pen-
 “ ning the Act: for seeing the Commons
 “ did not assent thereunto, the Words of
 “ the Act be; *It is ordained and assented*
 “ *in this present Parliament, that &c.* And
 “ so it was, tho by the King and the Lords
 “ only.†” And he blames Bishop *Brai-*
brook, the then Lord Chancellor, for “ in-
 “ serting it into the Parliamentary Writ
 “ of Proclamation, to be proclaim’d a-
 “ mongst the Acts of Parliament.‡” In

* 3 Inst. p. 40.

† Id. ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 41.

answer to this of my Lord *Coke*, we are told by a Person as eminent for his great Knowledge in our ecclesiastical Laws, as his high Station in the Church, that “ It appears not, by the Record, that the Statute 5 *Ric. II.* was so passed by the King and Lords, as that the Commons knew nothing of it, or were not acquainted with it; but their Complaint is, that they never assented thereunto; which if meant of a *formal Assent*, might at that Time be a *disputable Point*, whether they assented or not; considering that in those Days the Commons were not such a *distinct* and *separate* Body, as they have since been; and it is not pretended, that that Statute was inserted, notwithstanding the *Dissent of the Commons.*” *

’Tis not clear to me, whether his Lordship, in saying that the Commons were not then a *distinct Body*, means as to *Place*, or as to *Power*. Both of which ’tis plain, I think, that they were from our Records. There can be no doubt of their having sat and acted by themselves from the Time they had a *Speaker* of their own Body, which ’tis certain that they had, at least from 51 *Edw. III.* But

* Corpus Juris Eccles. Tit. 16. c. 1.

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that they have been for a much longer Time a distinct House, is plain from the Records of this very Parliament. Sir *Hugh Segrave*, the Lord Treasurer, who open'd it with a Speech, *wish'd the Commons to depart to their ACCUSTOM'D Place within the Abbey of Westminster* *; and when they requir'd that of the particular Consultations of the Bishops, Lords and Justices, a Hearing might be brought to them; 'twas answer'd, that the OLD Custom was, that the Commons should bring to the Lords their Conceits and Devices, and not to the contrary †. And as to the Power of their House, That the Consent of it had been long necessary, as a constituent Part of the Parliament, to the making of a Law, is manifest from the many Declarations made before this in Parliament, that no *Statute* or *Ordinance* should bind the Commons, nor *Tax* be granted or impos'd on them, without their Approbation ‡. And had the Commons Assent been obtained in the making of the Law before us in such a Manner as was necessary, they could never have made the Want of their Consent, a Reason, the next Year, of the Repeal of it.

* Exact Abridgment, p. 196.

† Ibid.

‡ See the Places refer'd to in the Table to the Exact Abridgment.

BUT

BUT my Lord *Coke* might have spar'd his Censure on *Bishop Braibroke*, if he had remembered his own Distinction between an *Ordinance* and an *Act* of Parliament. "The difference, says he, between an "Act of Parliament and an Ordinance of "Parliament, is, for that the Ordinance "wanteth the threefold Consent of the "King, the Lords and of the Commons, "and is ordained by one or two of "them*." This Distinction, if it be allowed of, will set this Matter in a clear Light. This was no *Statute*, not having the Consent of the Commons; but an *Ordinance* of Parliament, and as such 'tis enter'd, as the like *Ordinances* frequently are, upon the Statute Roll, and is not filed in the Record a *Statute* or *Act* of Parliament, but an *Ordinance*. And it appears by the Parliamentary Roll, to have been made upon the Petition of the Clergy, as we shall presently see the 2 *H.* IV. c. 15. was. "In the fifth of *Richard* "II. as Sir *Robert Cotton* has observed, "when to suppress the Schisms, the "Clergy became in Parliament the Petitioners to the King's Laity, where "these Words of their Assistance are

* 4 Inst. p. 25.

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"excluding the Commons from any
 "Power of Advice: *Habita prius bona &*
 "*matura Deliberatione de Communi Con-*
 "*filio ipsius Archiepiscopi, Suffraganeorum*
 "*suorum, aliorumque Clericorum, super*
 "*quo idem Archiepiscopus supplicavit, ut*
 "*pro debita Castigatione illorum qui Con-*
 "*clusiones Schismaticas prædicare voluerint*
 "*Animo obstinato, dignaremur apponere*
 "*Brachium Regiæ Potestatis eidem *."*

THE Members of the Convocation, like those of the House of Commons, being sent from the several Parts of the Kingdom, were suppos'd to be best acquainted with the Wants of the Publick, as to ecclesiastical Matters, and to be the proper Persons to prescribe a Remedy for them. This may be the Reason we meet with so many Statutes and Ordinances on the Rolls, which had their Rise from the Petitions of the Clergy; and that the Parliament sometimes appointed Receivers of those Petitions †. The Commons however before this, 51 *Edward III.* had effectually provided, *That no Ordinances be made at the Petition of the Clergy without Assent of Parliament; and that no Man*

* Cottoni Posthuma, p. 213.

† 21 *Edward III.* Exact Abridgment, p. 51.

*shou'd be bound by any their Constitutions made for their Advantage *.*

IN short, as this *Ordinance* was made by the King and Lords without the Consent of the Commons, so was it repeal'd the next Year by the King upon the Petition of the Commons. Which accounts for the Silence of our Historians as to any great Inconvenience the *Lollards* receiv'd from it. 'Twas soon made void, and the *Bishops* Power of convicting for Heresy left as ineffectual as before the making of it. And as for *Bishop Braibrook*, it does not appear that he was guilty of any Fraud.

THE *Ordinance* is indeed to be found only upon the Statute Roll, and there my Lord *Coke* met with it, enter'd in the Parliamentary Writ of Proclamation; and the Repeal of it on the Parliament Roll only: and their not being enter'd on the several Rolls, is rather to be esteemed a Neglect, for such Omissions are not uncommon, than any unfair Dealing. If *Bishop Braibrook* was in any thing to blame, it seems to me to be in a Particular which *Fox* has taken † notice of from the pub-

* Exact Abridgment, p. 148.

† Acts and Monuments, p. 406.

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lick Records, in issuing the Commission out to the Archbishop and his Suffragans, when it ought to have been *directed to the Shiriffes and other Ministers of the King*; but I suppose those Words in the *Ordinance, or other sufficient Persons learned*, as he thought, fully justified his Procedure.

I KNOW of nothing that can be objected to what I have here said, but the disallowing of the Distinction between an *Ordinance* and an *Act* of Parliament; which, I think, ought to be admitted of, notwithstanding Mr. *Prynne's* Assertion, that “ Acts “ and Ordinances of Parliament are both “ the same, and had the three-fold Assent. “ — The Parliament Rolls, and above a “ hundred printed Acts of Parliament, “ which call *Acts Ordinances*, and *Ordinances Acts* of Parliament, and couple “ the Words *this Act and Ordinance* usually together, abundantly evidence beyond Contradiction *, &c.” For he himself afterwards grants that they may be distinguish'd from one another. “ If, “ says he, there were any Difference between them, it was this, that an *Ordinance* was a temporary Provision by

* On the 4th Inst. p. 13.

“ way of Probation, which the Com-
 “ mons might amend at their Pleasure;
 “ and an *Act* of Parliament a perpetual
 “ Law, which they could not alter when
 “ they pleas’d without the King’s and
 “ Lords concurrent Assent; which Diffe-
 “ rence is hinted in 37 *Ed. 3. Rot. n. 38.*
 “ *Exact Abridgment*, p. 98. though Mul-
 “ titudes of printed Acts refute this Dis-
 “ tinction between them. Or else that
 “ the Commons Petitions in Parliament,
 “ enter’d in the Parliamentary Rolls, to
 “ which the King gave his royal Assent,
 “ were stiled by some, *Ordinances*; and
 “ these Petitions with the royal Assent
 “ thereto, when made into Statutes by
 “ Advice of the King’s Judges and Coun-
 “ cil, and enter’d in the Parliament or
 “ Statute Roll, were stiled *Statutes* or
 “ *Acts* of Parliament, as the Precedents
 “ of this Kind in an *exact Abridgment*
 “ evidence *.” This is as much as I con-
 tend for. I freely own *Ordinances* to be
 call’d *Acts* of Parliament, and *Acts* *Ordi-*
nances, but insist upon a Distinction be-
 ing made between them, when the Term
Ordinance is applied to such a *Law*,
 (whatever regard ought to be pay’d to it)

* Ibid. p. 14.

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as received the Sanction of only a Part of the Legislative Power.

THIS Ordinance was no sooner pass'd, than the pretended Hereticks were every where cited before the *Bishops*. Some of them recanted; but others bravely suffer'd. Particularly at a Synod held in *London* by *Courtney* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as soon as the Parliament was prorogued, *Wickliffe* himself was summon'd; but he refus'd to appear, being inform'd by his Friends, that a Plot was laid to seize him upon the Road *. So the Storm fell principally upon *Dr. Hereford*, Chancellor of *Oxford*, *Dr. Rapyngdon*, and *John Ayshton*, who were the chief Sticklers for *Wickliffe's* Opinions in that University. And before they broke up, several Articles, which it was pretended that *Wickliffe* held, were condemn'd for Heresy. They are recorded by our Historians; and without doubt some of them are not to be maintained: but then it ought to be remember'd, that they are rather Conclusions which his Enemies would have to be deducible from his Principles, than Opinions which were

* Mr. *Wharton's* Appendix to *Dr. Caus's* Hist. Lit. v. i. p. 51.

owned by him. Thus they charg'd him with denying the Church's Right to Tithes, and divesting her of her Property, which was a downright Slander; for *Wickliffe* only inveighed against the Avarice of the *Monks*, and denied their Right to Tithes, their possessing them being an Invasion of that which ought with Justice to attend the Cure of Souls.

THE Repeal of this *Ordinance* in the next Session of Parliament was some Respite to the *Lollards*; but not so great a Benefit to them as might have been expected: For the King continued to issue out Commissions * for imprisoning them, notwithstanding the Repeal. They were no longer favour'd by those in Power. The Court began to consider of Methods to suppress their *Herefy*, as their Enemys were pleas'd to call it. This it was hop'd would have been effected by the friendly Assistance which the civil Magistrate gave the Clergy in several Writs and Acts of State, inserted, as we are told, in the *Fœdera* †, all tending to crush *Wickliffe* and his Followers. And 'tis worthy of

* These Commissions are in Mr. *Prynne's* Animadversions, p. 395, &c.

† *Acta Regia*, v. ii. p. 34.

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Observation, that in all those Orders, *Richard* takes upon himself, *The Title of Defender of the Faith*, long before the Pope's pretended Gift of that Title to *Henry VIII.* * The *Lollards* however increas'd; and *Wickliffe* himself died quietly of a Palsey at *Lutterworth*, A. D. 1384. †.

THIS great Man was a Person of a close, subtle Wit; superior in every Part of Learning to all of his Age; and of undaunted Courage. His constant Preaching shews his indefatigable Industry as a Minister of the Gospel, as well as his Writings, which are free from those Faults that are common in the Writers of that Age, and a sufficient Evidence of his great Knowledge in the sacred Scriptures. They are very numerous. Mr. *Lewis*, in his laborious Collections, has enumerated above 250 Treatises of his Writing; too many, I am afraid, to be at present met with: tho we are told by Mr. *Wharton* ‡, that his Works are all extant either in Print or MS. He translated the whole Bible into *English*, and prefixed a

* Mr. *Tyrrell's* Hist. v. iii. p. 1053.

† Narratio de Morte *J. W.* in the Cotton Library, Otho, A. 14.

‡ Appendix to Dr. *Cave's* Hist. Lit. v. i. p. 54.

Prologue to each Book; there are several MS. Copys of it in our Librarys. His Translation of the New Testament was publish'd at *London* in Folio, in 1731, by Mr. *Lewis*. The Clergy were particularly angry with him for translating the Scriptures. He tells us * himself, that they look'd upon it as *Heresy*. 'Tis certain that they treated Abundance of his Disciples with great Severity for reading them. He was a strict Follower of Truth whithersoever it led him; as appears by his rejecting, from time to time, as he saw Reason, such *Popish* Errors as he had been an Assertor of in former Writings. He never fear'd suffering in his Reputation by retracting his Mistakes: And 'tis very observable, that amidst the Storm which rag'd with such excessive Fury as to sink so many of his Followers, he steer'd his own Ship safe to the Haven of eternal Rest, dying in a good old Age, as we are inform'd from the Writings of his Adversarys. He was buried in his Parish-Church of *Lutterworth*, where his Bones rested in Peace till they were 41 Years after dug up by *Richard Flemyng* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and burnt as those of a Heretick. His Memory was

* *Wickliffe's Wicket*, printed at Norenburch in 1546.

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for a long while particularly dear to his University of *Oxford*, which in 1406 caus'd Letters Testimonial to be seal'd with their Common Seal, in full Convocation, giving a very high Character of his Life and Behaviour, his Learning, Preaching, and of the Works he publish'd *. The Authentickness of this Testimonial is fully justified by Mr. *Lewis*, from the Misrepresentations of Mr. *Collier* and others. The Writings of Dr. *Wickliffe*, notwithstanding the many Edicts and Orders of Synods for the suppressing and burning them, which were executed at *Oxford* in the Presence of the Abbot of *Shrewsbury* in 1410, were common there, both in the Schools and Colleges, till Obedience was paid to the Decree of the Council of *Constance* in 1414. I have said the more of this great Man, because some of our modern Writers have treated him with Obloquy and Contempt. But his Character was long since vindicated by Dr. *James*, Librarian to the University of *Oxford*, in a 4to Treatise he publish'd in 1608, in which he has demonstrated, against *Parsons* and others, that his Tenets were the same as are now held by the Church of *England*. And

* See *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, p. 412.

in 1720 the Reverend Mr. *Lewis* publish'd in Octavo at *London*, The History of his Life and Sufferings; in which he defends him and his Opinions from the Calumnies cast upon him by his Adversarys. But to return.

THE Loss of their Head no way dishearten'd *Wickliffe's* Followers. They continued preaching and propagating their Doctrines with great Boldness and Courage. In 1395, while the Convocations of *Canterbury* and *York* were petitioning their Archbishops for a speedy and effectual Punishment and Suppression of *Lollardy*, the Parliament being at the same Time sitting, they affixed to the Doors of *St. Paul's*, and *St. Peter's Westminster*, certain Conclusions, in which they sharply declared against the Superstitions of the Church of *Rome* *. And they presented Articles to the House of Commons, in one of which they charg'd Pilgrimages, Prayers and Offerings made to Images and Crosses, as having nothing of Charity in them, and near of Kin to, and the Picturing the holy Trinity as downright, Idolatry. This only farther provoked their

* Vid. Chronicon MS. *Thom. Walsingham*, in Bibl. Bodl. N. B. F. 9. 1.

Enemys,

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Enemys, who, instead of Reason and Scripture, were for using Force to silence their Adversarys. They urg'd the King to Severity against some of the Nobility and Gentry; and procur'd from him an Order to the University of *Oxford* to expel the *Lollards* and condemn their Writings. He had before constituted Inquisitors by his Letters Patents, who were to peruse their Books and enquire into those who abetted their Doctrines. And assoon as the Parliament was up, *Arundel* who was at that time Archbishop of *Yorke* and Keeper of the Great Seal, oblig'd such as were suspected of *Lollardy*, to make an implicit Submission in the King's Court of Chancery, and purge themselves by an Oath, which ran thus.

* **I** Willyam Dynet be for yhow Worschepfull Fader and Lorde Archbishop of Yhorke and yhour Clergie with my free wyll and full avysede Swere to God and to all his Seyntes upon thys holy Gospells yat fro this day forthwarde I shall worship Ymages with preying and offeryng un to hem in the Worschep of the Seyntes that yey be made after, and also I shall never mor despyse Pygre-

* Claus. 19. R. 2. m. 18. dorso.

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mage ne States of holy Chyrche in no degree, and also I shall be buxum to ye Lawes of holy Chirche and to yhowe as myne Archbysshop and to myn other Ordinaries and Curates and kepe the Lawes upon my Power and meynten hem, &c.

I CAN'T but observe from this Oath, that the Arch-Bishop, who, I suppose, drew it up, was not acquainted with the nice Distinctions invented by the modern *Romanists* to temper and allay Idolatry; for he made these poor Wretches swear directly to *worship Images* without the least Qualification.

A REVOLUTION soon after happen'd in the State. *Richard II.* being depos'd for his male Administration, and the Crown plac'd on *Henry IV's* Head, in order to support himself on the Throne, that Prince found it needful to make the Clergy his Friends. A Rebellion, which happen'd in the first Year of his Reign, made him still more sensible of the Necessity of having that Body of Men attach'd to him. To gain their Affections, he joyn'd the Influence of his Court with their Cabals, and tried what could be done in Parliament to enable the *Bishops* to take Cognizance of Heresy with Effect. The Temper of the Commons was too

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well known to the Managers for the Clergy, for them ever to hope to draw them into their Measures. They had therefore Recourse to their former Method of Proceeding, and since they could not get an *Act* of Parliament pass'd, effected their End by an *Ordinance* of the King and Lords; by which such as preached or wrote against the Catholick Faith, and their Favourers, were to be arrested by the *Bishops*, and proceeded against according to the Canons; and being convict, were to be kept in Prison, and fined at the Discretion of their Diocesan, and refusing to abjure, or relapsing, were to be deliver'd to the secular Arm, and burnt for the Terror of others.

THIS *Ordinance* being the principal Ground of the Persecutions which were afterwards carried on, I am desirous, if I can with Justice, to clear the Representatives of our Country from having had any Hand in it, and shall therefore insert, in the Notes*, the Parliament Roll,

* *Ex Rotulo Parlamenti de a°. 2^{do}. Henr. 4^{ti}. n. 48.*

Petitio Cleri contra Hæreticos.

“ Excellentissimo ac gratiosissimo Principi Domino nostro
 “ Regi. Supplicatur ex parte vestrorum humilium Ora-
 “ torum Prælatorum et Cleri Regni vestri Angliæ, quod
 “ cum

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Roll, as it was with all Readiness and
Good-Nature copied for me by that able

Y 2

and

“ cum Fides catholica super Christum fundata, et per
“ Apostolos suos et Ecclesiam sacrosanctam sufficienter de-
“ terminata, declarata, et approbata, per bonos ac sanctos
“ et nobilissimos Progenitores et Antecessores vestros in
“ dicto Regno inter omnia Regna mundi hætenus ex-
“ titerit devotius observata, et Ecclesia Anglicana per præ-
“ dictos inclitissimos Progenitores et Antecessores vestros
“ ad Honorem Dei et totius Regni prædicti laudabiliter
“ dotata, et in suis Juribus et Libertatibus sustentata, absque
“ hoc, quod dicta Fides seu dicta Ecclesia per aliquas
“ Doctrinas perversas vel Opiniones iniquas hæreticas vel
“ erroneas læsa fuerat, vel graviter oppressa, seu etiam
“ perturbata, nichilominus diversi perfidi et perversi cu-
“ jusdam novæ Sectæ de dicta Fide, Sacramentis Ecclesiæ,
“ et Autoritate ejusdem dampnabiliter sentientes, et con-
“ tra Legem divinam et Ecclesiasticam Prædicationis Offi-
“ cium temere usurpantes, diversas novas Doctrinas et
“ Opiniones iniquas, hæreticas, et erroneas, eidem Fidei ac
“ sanctis Determinationibus Ecclesiæ sacrosanctæ contra-
“ rias, perverse et malitiose infra dictum Regnum in di-
“ versis locis, sub simulatæ Sanctitatis Colore, prædicant et
“ docent hijs Diebus, publice et occulte, ac de hujusmodi
“ Secta nephandisque Doctrinis et Opinionibus Conven-
“ tículas et Confederationes illicitas faciunt, Scholas te-
“ nent et exercent, Libros conficiunt atque scribunt, Po-
“ pulum nequiter instruunt et informant, et ad Seditio-
“ nem seu Insurrectionem excitant, quantum possunt, et
“ magnas Dissensiones et Divisiones in Populo faciunt, et alia
“ diversa enormia, auditui horrenda, indies perpetrant et
“ committunt, in dictæ Fidei catholicæ et Doctrinæ Ecclesiæ
“ sacrosanctæ Subversionem, divinique Cultus Diminutionem,
“ ac etiam in Destructionem Statûs, Jurium, et Libertatum
“ dictæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, per quas quidem Sectam,
“ falsasque et nephandas Prædicationes, Doctrinas, et Opini-
“ ones dictorum perfidorum et perversorum, nedum max-
“ imum Periculum Animarum, verumetiam quamplura alia
“ Dampna, Scandala, et Pericula eidem Regno, quod absit,
“ poterunt evenire, nisi in hac Parte per regiam Majes-
“ tatem

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and diligent Officer, Mr. *Holmes*. From which it will plainly appear to have been ordain'd,

tatem uberius et celerius succurratur, præsertim cum
 " Dioecesani dicti Regni per suam Jurisdictionem spiritu-
 " alem dictos perfidos et perversos absque Auxilio dictæ
 " vestræ Regiæ Majestatis sufficienter corrigere neque-
 " ant, nec ipsorum Malitiam refrænare, pro eo quod
 " dicti perfidi et perversi de Dioecesi in Dioecesim
 " se transferunt, et coram dictis Dioecesanis comparere
 " diffugiunt, ipsosque Dioecesanos et suam Jurisdictionem
 " spiritualem, ac Claves Ecclesiæ et Censuras ecclesiasticas
 " despiciunt penitus et contempnunt, et sic suas nephan-
 " das Prædicationes et Doctrinas indies continuant et ex-
 " cercent, ad omnem Juris et Rationis Ordinem atque
 " Regimen penitus destruend'. Quatinus Præmissa ac dic-
 " torum inclitissimorum Progenitorum et Antecessorum ves-
 " trorum laudabilia Vestigia gratiose considerantes, dig-
 " netur vestra regia Celsitudo, pro Conservatione dictæ Fidei
 " catholicæ, et Sustentatione dicti Cultus divini, ac etiam
 " pro Salvatione Status, Jurium et Libertatum dictæ Ecclesiæ
 " Anglicanæ, ad Dei Laudem, vestrique Meritum et totius
 " Regni prædicti Prosperitatem et Honorem, et pro hujus-
 " modi Dissensionibus, Divisionibus, Dampnis, Scandalis, et
 " Periculis evitandis, super Novitatibus et Excessibus præ-
 " dictis in presenti Parlamento vestro providere de Reme-
 " dio oportuno, ita si placeat, quod nullus decætero infra
 " dictum Regnum, seu alia Dominia vestræ Regiæ Ma-
 " jestati subjecta, sub gravi Pœna, per dictam Regiam
 " Majestatem, ex Assensu Magnatum et aliorum Procerum
 " in dicto Parlamento existentium ordinanda, prædicare
 " præsumat, publice vel occulte, absque licentia Dioece-
 " sani petita primitus et optenta, curatis in suis proprijs
 " Ecclesijs et Personis hætenus privilegiatis, ac alijs a
 " Jure canonico concessis dumtaxat exceptis; nec quod ali-
 " quis decætero sub certa Pœna in dicto Parlamento simi-
 " liter ordinanda aliquid prædicet, doceat, teneat, vel infor-
 " met, clam vel palam, aut aliquem Librum conficiat seu
 " scribat contrarium Fidei catholicæ seu Determinationi
 " Ecclesiæ sacrosanctæ, nec de hujusmodi Secta nephan-
 " disque

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*ordain'd, upon the Petition of the Clergy,
by the King and Lords, and that there is*

Y 3

not

“ disque Doctrinis et Opinionibus Conventiculas aliquas
“ faciat, vel Scholas teneat vel exerceat, quovis modo;
“ ac etiam, quod nullus imposterum sub certâ Pœnâ, si-
“ militer in præsentî Parlamento ordinandâ, alicui sic
“ prædicanti, aut tales vel consimiles Conventiculas faci-
“ enti, seu Scholas tenenti vel exercenti, aut talem Li-
“ brum facienti seu scribenti, vel Populum sic docenti,
“ informanti vel excitanti, quomodolibet faveat, nec ipso-
“ rum aliquem manuteneat aliqualiter vel sustentet. Et
“ si quæ Persona vel Personæ cujuscunque Sexus, Status, vel
“ Conditionis existant, post Ordinationem vestram hujus-
“ modi in dicto Parlamento vestro factam contra ipsam
“ in Præmissis vel aliquo Præmissorum fecerit vel attemp-
“ taverit, fecerint vel attemptaverint, tunc loci Diœcesanus in
“ sua Diœcesi ipsam Personam in hac Parte diffamatam vel
“ evidenter suspectam, seu ipsas Personas sic diffamatas vel sus-
“ pectas, et ipsarum quamlibet, possit Authoritate dictæ Ordi-
“ nationis vestræ in præsentî Parlamento sic faciendæ facere
“ arestari, et sub salva Custodia in suis Carceribus detineri,
“ quousque de Articulis eis impositis in hac Parte cano-
“ nica se purgaverit vel purgaverint, vel hujusmodi ne-
“ phandas Sectam, Prædicationes, Doctrinas, et Opiniones
“ hæreticas et erroneas abjuraverit vel abjuraverint, prout
“ Jura Ecclesiastica exigunt et requirunt. Ita quod dictus
“ Diœcesanus, per se vel per Commissarios suos, contra
“ hujusmodi Personas sic arestatas, et sub Custodia rema-
“ nentes, ad omnem Juris Effectum publice et judiciali-
“ ter procedat, et Negotium hujusmodi infra tres Menses post
“ dictam Arestationem Impedimento legitimo cessante ter-
“ minet, juxta canonicas Sanctiones. Et si quis vel quæ
“ super dictis Criminibus et Excessibus, vel aliquo eorun-
“ dem, diffamatus seu diffamata inde sententialiter con-
“ victus fuerit seu convicta, et hujusmodi nephandas Doc-
“ trinas, Opiniones, Scholas, et Informationes hæreticas vel
“ erroneas abjurare recusaverit, aut per loci Diœcesanum
“ seu Commissarios suos, post Abjurationem per ipsum seu
“ per ipsam factam pronunciatus seu pronunciata fuerit,
“ relapsus

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not the least Hint that the Commons ever consented to it. We are therefore, according

“ relapsus seu relapsa, tunc Ministri vestri in Comitatu
 “ illo, per Vos in Ordinatione vestra prædicta ad hoc spe-
 “ cialiter assignandi, in Sententijs dicti Diocesani vel dicto-
 “ rum Commissariorum contra hujusmodi Personas in hac
 “ parte proferend' personaliter sint præsentés, cum super
 “ hoc per dictum Diocesenum vel dictos Commissarios fue-
 “ rint requisiti, et dictas Personas post hujusmodi Sententias
 “ prolatas recipiant, et ulterius agant quod eis incumbit
 “ in ea parte, ne hujusmodi nephandæ Doctrinæ et Opi-
 “ niones hæreticæ et erroneæ, vel ipsarum Authores et
 “ Fautores, in dicto Regno contra Fidem catholicam, Reli-
 “ gionem Christianam, et Determinationem Ecclesiæ sacro-
 “ sanctæ, quod absit, sustententur, seu quomodolibet tolle-
 “ rentur.

“ Item, quod omnes et singuli aliquos Libros seu ali-
 “ quas Scripturas de hujusmodi nephandis Doctrinis et Opi-
 “ nionibus habentes, omnes hujusmodi Libros et Scripturas
 “ Loci Diocesano infra certum Terminum, et sub certa
 “ Pœna, per Regiam Majestatem in dicto Parlamento
 “ ordinanda liberent cum Effectu.

“ Quas quidem Petitiones Prælatorum et Cleri
Respons. “ superius expressatas Dominus noster Rex, de
 “ Consensu Magnatum et aliorum Procerum
 “ Regni sui in præsentî Parlamento existentium, concessit,
 “ et in omnibus et singulis juxta Formam et Effectum ea-
 “ rundem ordinavit et statuit decætero firmiter observari,
 “ adjiciens ulterius in hac Parte, quod si in aliquo Casu in
 “ dictis Petitionibus expressatis aliqua Persona contra Or-
 “ dinationem et Statutum suum hujusmodi attemptaverit,
 “ et inde coram loci Diocesano seu Commissarijs suis cano-
 “ nice convicta fuerit, tunc idem Diocesanus dictam Per-
 “ sonam sic convictam pro modo Culpæ et secundum
 “ quantitatem Delicti possit in suis Carceribus facere custo-
 “ diri, prout et quamdiu Discretioni suæ videbitur expe-
 “ dire, Ac ulterius, eandem Personam, præterquam in Ca-
 “ sibus quibus secundum Canonicas Sanctiones relinqui
 “ debeat

according to what my Lord *Coke* has laid down in such Case, to conclude it to be

Y 4

no

“ debeat Curia Seculari, ad Finem pecuniarium Domino
 “ Regi solvendum ponere, prout hujusmodi Finis eidem
 “ Diocesano pro modo Culpæ et qualitate Delicti com-
 “ petens videatur. In quo Casu idem Diocesanus per
 “ Literas suas patentes ipsius Sigillo sigillatas de hujusmodi
 “ Fine ipsum Regem in Scaccario suo certiorare tenebitur,
 “ ad Effectum quod hujusmodi Finis de Bonis ejusdem Per-
 “ sonæ sic convictæ Authoritate Regis ad Opus suum exigi
 “ poterit et levare. Et quoad Libros et Scripturas, in qui-
 “ bus hujusmodi Hæreses aut Errores continentur, ordina-
 “ tum est, quod infra quadraginta Dies a Tempore Procla-
 “ mationis Ordinationis et Statuti prædictorum, omnes
 “ Personæ, quæ hujusmodi Libros et Scripturas habent, Loci
 “ Diocesano illos liberent seu liberari faciant realiter cum
 “ Effectu; quod si non fecerint, et super hoc coram Loci Diœ-
 “ cesano aut Commissarijs suis convincantur, tunc contra eos
 “ ad Pœnam Carceris et Finem etiam pecuniarium dicto
 “ Domino Regi solvendum in Forma superius expressata per
 “ dictum Loci Diœcesanum similiter procedatur; adjiciens
 “ insuper, quod si aliqua Persona infra dicta Regnum et
 “ Dominia super dictis nephandis Prædicationibus, Doctrinis,
 “ Opinionibus, Scolis, et Informationibus hæreticis et erro-
 “ neis, vel aliqua eorundem, sententialiter coram Loci Diœce-
 “ sano vel Commissarijs suis convicta fuerit, et hujusmodi
 “ nephandas Prædicationes, Doctrinas, Opiniones, Scholas, et
 “ Informationes abjurare recusaverit, aut per Loci Diœce-
 “ sanum vel Commissarios suos post Abjurationem per
 “ eandem Personam factam pronunciata fuerit relapsa,
 “ ita quod secundum Canonicas Sanctiones relinqui debeat
 “ Curia Seculari, super quo credatur Loci Diœcesano seu
 “ Commissarijs suis in hac Parte, tunc Vicecomes Comi-
 “ tatus illius Loci, et Major et Vicecomites, seu Vicecomes
 “ aut Major et Ballivi Civitatis, Villæ, vel Burgi ejusdem
 “ Comitatus, dicto Diœcesano magis propinqui, in Sen-
 “ tentijs per dictum Diœcesanum aut Commissarios suos
 “ contra Personas hujusmodi et ipsarum quamlibet pro-
 “ ferend' cum ad hoc per dictum Diœcesanum vel Com-
 “ missarios

no Act of Parliament. Si *Actus Parliamenti* scribatur, says he †, *De Assensu Regis & Dominorum spiritualium & temporalium & Communitatis, vel, Inactitatum est Authoritate Parliamenti, hujusmodi valet Actus; formalis vero magis est qui sancitur, per Regem de Assensu Dominorum spiritualium & temporalium & Communitatis: 7 Hen. 7. 14. & 39 Edw. 3. 12. cum hoc concordant: & ibidem dicitur, quod multa sunt Statuta quæ scribuntur, Dominus Rex statuit; si tamen Rotulo Parliamentario intrentur, & semper ut Actus Parliamenti approbentur, intendetur hæc Authoritate Parliamenti fuisse; Si vero Actus scribatur, Rex cum Assensu Dominorum, vel cum Assensu Communitatis, iste nullus est Parliamenti Actus; huic enim tres assentire debent, scilicet, Rex, Domini, & Communitas, aliter Actus Parliamenti non est; & per Recordum Actus exprimitur quis horum assensit, & hoc omnimodi*

“ missarios ejusdem fuerint requisiti, personaliter sint præ-
 “ sentes et Personas illas, et quamlibet earundem post
 “ hujusmodi Sententias prolatas recipiant, et easdem coram
 “ Populo in eminenti Loco comburi faciant, ut hujusmodi
 “ Punitio Metum incutiat Mentibus aliorum. In quibus
 “ omnibus et singulis Præmissis, Vicecomites, Majores et
 “ Ballivi dictorum Comitatum, Civitatum, Villarum, et
 “ Burgorum prædictorum, dicto Ducecesano et Commissarijs
 “ suis sint intendentes, auxiliantes etiam, et faventes.”

† 8 Report, p. 20. The Prince's Case.

Intentiones

Intentiones (quod aliqui alii assenserunt) excludit ! 'Tis true indeed, that we read in the printed Act, 2 Hen. 4. c. 15. that the Prelates and Clergy and also the Commons of the Realm, being in Parliament, praying our Sovereign Lord the King — and that the States and other discreet Men of the Realm, being in the said Parliament, hath granted and ordain'd, &c. But, as hath been long since observed by Sir Robert Cotton, or rather by Mr. Bowyer *, who, Mr. Tyrrel says, was the Author of the Exact Abridgment †, “ The Print
“ touching the Converting or Punishing
“ of such as held any erroneous Opinion,
“ cap. 15. far swerveth from the Re-
“ cord, and not only in Form, but much
“ more in Matter also to maintain Ty-
“ ranny, than in the Record, which
“ note well.”

BUT however, this Ordinance having the same Regard pay'd to it as to a Statute or Act of Parliament, made a great Alteration in the Common Law. It invested the Bishops with a Power of arresting, imprisoning and fining for Heresy, which they executed not before,

* Tyrrel's Hist. of Engl. Vol. iii. part 1. Pref. p. 9.

† Exact Abridgment, p. 409.

and which was very inconvenient to the *Lollards*, especially the Power of *imprisoning*, which enabled them to see the Penalty the Common Law had inflicted for Heresy, effectually applied. My Lord Chief Justice *Fitz-Herbert* has stated this Alteration, so far as it related to the Writ *de Hæretico Comburendo*, "The Person," says he, "who shall be burnt for Heresy" (that is by the Common Law before the making of this Ordinance) "ought to be first convict thereof by the *Bishop*, who is his Diocesan where he dwelleth, and abjur'd thereof, and afterwards, if he relapse into that Heresy, or any other, and thereof be condemned in the said Diocess, then he shall be sent from the Clergy to the secular Power, to do with him as it shall please the King, &c. And then it seemeth the King, if he will, may pardon him the same." Otherwise the King sent forth the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo*, which he gives us. "But now, says he, by the Statute of *Hen. 4. cap. 15*. It is enacted, that every *Bishop* in his Diocess may convict a Man of Heresy, and abjure him, &c. and afterwards convict him anew thereof, and condemn him, and warn the Sheriff or other Officer to apprehend him, and burn him, &c. And that the Sheriff or other Officer ought to do

" the

“ the same by the Precept of the *Bishop*,
 “ and without any Writ from the King
 “ to do the same. And that is the Cause,
 “ (as it seemeth) that that Writ is not
 “ put in the new Registers, because that
 “ Writ ought not at this Day to be sued
 “ forth, but is, as it were, void by Rea-
 “ son of the said Act.” From the She-
 riff’s being to see Execution perform’d
 upon the Precept of the *Bishop*, without
 consulting the King’s Pleasure, I am in-
 clin’d to think, that ’twas concluded that
 the Crown by this *Ordinance* had parted
 with the Power of pardoning Hereticks:
 the same might be likewise conjectured,
 from the great Numbers who afterwards
 suffered without any Mention any where
 made, of any one having ever obtain’d a
 Pardon.

AFTER this the Spirit of Popery, not
 Christianity, was to be seen in the Zeal
 of the Enemys to *Lollardy*. Sir *William*
Sawtre, who was Minister of *St. Osith’s*
 in *London*, petitioned the Parliament,
 before it rose, to be heard for the Ad-
 vantage of the Realm. But the *Bishops*
 perceiving his Design, contriv’d it so that
 he was refer’d to the Convocation; where
 he no sooner appear’d, than ’twas object-
 ed to him, that while he was Minister
 of *St. Margaret’s* in *Lynn*, he had abjured
 heretical

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heretical Doctrines before the *Bishop* of *Norwich*. Upon which *Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury* questioned him upon Articles which he exhibited against him. The first and principal of which was, that he maintain'd that he would not worship the Cross on which Christ suffer'd, but only Christ who suffer'd on the Cross; and that the Expences of a Pilgrimage were better laid out in Charitys on the Poor. He confessed the Charge, and was burnt for the Terror of others.

BUT the Severities with which this *Ordinance* was attended, were far from having the Effect the Procurers of it design'd. The Contest they were engaged in, was not one of those where Victory is to be determin'd by the Number of the slain. History informs us that the Persecuted daily increas'd. Spectators inquired into the Foundation of those Principles in behalf of which they saw Persons cheerfully suffer; and when Truth was presented to them, they could not but be charm'd with it. And then, the Violences made use of were so far from possessing the Sufferers with an Opinion of any Falsity in their Tenets, that they made them the more zealous in the Defense of them, and more religious than they

they would otherwise have been. Agreeably to this, we find the *Lollards* charg'd with a pretended Sanctity, and disssembled Holiness, both in the Ordinance of *Richard II.* and that of *Henry IV.* and *Walsingham* tells us, that there was nothing to be seen amongst them, but an extraordinary Appearance of Devotion, continual Fastings and other Mortifications; that they went barefoot, affecting a Singularity of Habit, and Averseness to all Luxury and Excess. So that the Carriage of their Enemys at once qualified them to propagate their Opinions and suffer for them. Hence they had gained Strength enough, in 1410, to carry it in the House of Commons to address the King, that the Ordinance touching Heresy might be repeal'd, or at least softned. But the King, being steddily to his Politicks, gave them a sharp Answer; and, before the Parliament rose, *John Badby* was brought to the Stake.

HE was a Taylor, of *Evesham* in *Worcestershire*, and profess'd the Opinions of the *Lollards*; was proceeded against for Heresy by his Ordinary, and deliver'd over to the secular Power. His Countenance was no ways alter'd upon his Condemnation; and he cheerfully endeavour'd to perswade others to embrace his

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his Opinions. He was burnt in *Smithfield* in the Presence of the Prince of *Wales*, who, in the midst of his Agonies, caus'd the Fire to be taken from about him, and offer'd him his Life and a Pension, if he would recant. But what he had already suffer'd, had inflam'd him with the Spirit of God; he contemn'd the Prince's Offers, and suffer'd Martyrdom with an heroick Courage *. I shall here insert an Account of his Execution, as it is given us by *Occleve*, a Poet of those Times.

SOME men for lack of occupation
Musyn ferther than ther witt may
strecche

And at the fendes instigacion

Dampnable errorrs holeeth and can no
fleeche

For no counsell ne rede, as did a wrecch,
Not long agoo which that of heresye
Convitt and brent was unto asshes drye.

THE precious body of our Lord Jesu
In fourme of breed he leved not at all
He was in nothing abasshed ne eschew
To sey it was breed materiall.

* *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, p. 481.

prevent Superstition. 335

He seyde, A prestes power was as small
As a raker as such another wight
And to make it had no gretter might.

My Lord and Prince, God him save and
blesse,

Was at his dedly castigation,
And of his soule had grett tenderesse
Trusting fore his salvacion,
Grett was his lamentacion
That whan this renegat noght wold blynne,
Off the styngyng errour that he was ynne.

THIS good Lord hight hym to be such
mene

To his fader our lege Lord sovereyne
Yef he renounce wold his errour clene
And com unto our good beleve ageyn
He shuld of his lyfe sure be & certeyn
And sufficient lyflood eke shold he have
Unto the day he clad were into his grave.

Also this noble Prince & worthi Knyght
God queyte hym his charitable labour,
Or any stikke kyndelyd were or light
The Sacrament our blyssed Saveyour
With reverence grete & hy honour
He fecch let this wrecch to converte
A make our fayth to stikyn in his hert.

BUT all for noght it wold not betyde
He held forth his opynyon dampnable
And

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And cast our holy christen feyth on fyde
As he that was to the fende acceptable
By any outward token resonable——

LETE the Devenes of hym speke and muse
Wher his soule is become & whedir
gone

Myn unkunnyng of that me shall excuse
Off which metere knowlech have I none
Butt wold God tho Cristes foos ecche
one

That as he held were served soo
For I am sure ther be many moo *.

HENRY IV. died unlamented by his People. And, tho his Successor *Henry V.* did not shew the same Zeal against this pretended Heresy as his Father, the principal Leaders and Abettors of it were attack'd. The Diocesess of *Rochester* and *Hereford* were particularly addicted to it; it being spread there under the Protection and Countenance of Sir *John Oldcastle*, who enjoy'd the Castle of *Cowling* in *Kent*, and had been made Sheriff of *Herefordshire*

* *Occleve's Poems* in M. S. in Bibl. Bodl. Laud. K. 78. It appears from these Lines, that *Bayle*, as quoted by the late Editor of *Chaucer's Life and Works*, was mistaken, when he said that *Occleve* was a Follower of *Wickliffe's* Opinions.

by *Henry IV.* He was a Man of vast Parts, and very exemplary Virtues; and receiv'd a noble Fortune from his Ancestors, which was much increas'd by his Marriage with *Joan de la Pole* Heiress to the Barony of *Cobham*, upon whose Account he had been summon'd to Parliament as Lord *Cobham* from 11 of *Henry IV* *, where he declar'd with great Boldness and Bravery against the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, and the Usurpations of the Pope; and in the Country he did all he could to promote the Growth and Increase of *Lollardy*. A Nobleman of this Character could not but be very obnoxious to the Clergy of those Times, who therefore resolv'd to prosecute him as a Terror to the whole Sect. He thought himself above submitting to the Jurisdiction of the Church, receiv'd the Archbishop's Officer with Contempt, and made a Jest of his Citation. This haughty Carriage provok'd the King, who was not as yet prejudic'd against the *Lollards*, to grant the Archbishop's Request, and suffer *Oldcastle* to be arrested and committed to the Tower. His Trial before the Archbishop for Heresy, in 1413, written by *Bale*, is preserved in the first

* *Dugdale's Baronage.*

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Volume of State Trials; and has been since printed by itself at *London*. From which it appears, that without any Disguise or Diffimulation he declared the Pope, and his Clergy, to be *Antichrist*; that *Pilgrimages* were unnecessary; and that neither *Saints*, nor their *Relicks*, were the proper Subject of Adoration. Upon this he was declar'd a Heretick excommunicate, and as such delivered over to the secular Power.

It can't well be suppos'd, that so brave and warlike a Prince as *Henry V.* could approve of sacrificing, to the Rage of his Enemys, such a Subject as *Oldcastle*, who had all the Qualitys of a great Man; especially at a Time, when he was meditating his Expedition upon *France*, in which such an Officer as He, who had discharg'd a considerable Command, every way to his Honour, in the Troops *Henry IV.* sent to assist the Duke of *Burgundy* against the *French*, could not but be dear to him. This makes it probable, which has been suppos'd *, that the King was privy to the Escape which *Oldcastle* soon after made out of Prison. And the Conjecture is the more probable, from his

* Mr. *Rapine* in his *Acta Regia*, v. ii. p. 188.

having

having conceal'd himself for four Years in *Wales*, which could not have been well done, if Officers had not thought it agreeable to their Superiors to connive at him. Be that as it will, his Persecutors left him not quiet in his Retirement. He had the Unhappiness to be discover'd by the Lord *Powis*, against whom he made a brave Defence; but, being overpower'd by Numbers, was apprehended at a Time which was not favourable to him. A Conspiracy had been trump'd up. The *Lollards* holding one of their religious Assemblies by Night, for Fear of the King's Proclamations, in *St. Giles's Fields*, some of them brought Arms with them for their Defence, in Case they should be disturb'd by their Persecutors. This gave Pretence to their Enemys to tell the King, that *Oldcastle* was in Arms at the Head of 20000 *Lollards*; that their Design was to seize his Person, destroy the Princes of the Blood, and make *Oldcastle* Regent of the Kingdom. The King soon dispers'd them with such Troops as he had at Hand. And 36 of his Prisoners are said to have been condemn'd, and hung up by the Middle with a Chain and burnt alive, to shew that it was Heresy as well as Treason for which they suffer'd. This was done at a Place which, from the Manner of their Execution,

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has ever since borne the Name of *Tyburn*. Whether the King was long deceiv'd by this pretended Plot, or not, He being in *France*, *Oldcastle* suffered the same Manner of Death, *A. D.* 1418, which was four Years after.

THUS fell the first *English* Nobleman who ever suffer'd Death for opposing the exorbitant Opinions of the Church of *Rome*. A Person brave and gallant, and equally illustrious for Arms and Arts. He had a great Opinion of the Piety and Uprightness of those, who, in his Time, appear'd against the Extravagances of Popery; and liberally supply'd their Wants and Necessities. At his own private Expence he maintain'd several Preachers who were odious to the Ecclesiasticks then in Power; and dispers'd the Works of *Wickliffe* and other Reformers amongst the People *. And in this last Particular his Charity was not confin'd to his own Country. He sent † a great Number of Copys all over *Europe*, and especially into *Bohemia* to gratify the Request of *John Hufs* ‡, who had been brought over to se-

* *Bale's Cronicle, &c.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Goodwin's Life of K. Hen. V. p. 167.*

veral Opinions of the *Lollards* by a Gentleman of that Country, who had studied at *Oxford*, and together with *Peter Payn*, who fled from the Persecution here, dispers'd *Wickliffe's* Opinions there. This, with the *Bohemians* and *Germans* resorting hither to *Ann**, *Richard II*'s Queen, gave Rise to the Reformation in those Countrys. But *Oldcastle's* Charity to *Bohemia* was very remarkable, there being above 200 Volumes, which he had sent thither, beautifully wrote and finely bound, publickly burnt by *Subincus* Archbishop of *Prague*, a little before the Council of *Constance*. The Clergy continued persecuting his Memory after his Death. They represented him in their Songs and Ballads, as a rude, boisterous, drunken Fellow, and on the Stage gave him the Character of a cowardly boon Companion, till such Time as Sir *John Falstaff*,

* She was Sister to *Winceslaus*, who was Emperor and King of *Bohemia*, and being an Admirer of *Wickliffe* was a great Favourer of the *Lollards*. Archbishop *Arundel* who had prosecuted some for reading the Scriptures, particularly commends her, in his Sermon preached at her Funeral, for her great Diligence in studying them. And *Wickliffe* speaking of her in his Treatise *Of the threefold Bond of Love*, says, that "the noble Queen of England, the Sister of *Cæsar*, may have the Gospel written in three Languages, *Bohemian*, *German* and *Latin*, and to hereticate her on this Account, would be *Luciferian Folly*."

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with a like Injury to History, was substituted Buffoon in his Place.

BUT before the Burning of Sir *John Oldcastle*, in the 2d Year of this Prince's Reign, an Act of Parliament was made, which 'twas thought would have been of great Service towards the suppressing this growing Sect. It was enacted that Hereticks convict should forfeit their Lands, &c. and that all Officers at their Admission should take an Oath to destroy *Lollardy*, and to be assistant to the Ordinary therein. This Bill was no sooner pass'd than the Persecution was warmer than ever. Some of the Reformers fled beyond Sea. Others were burnt alive. The Denying any Merit to Pilgrimages, and religious Worship to Saints and Angels, was the principal Article in all their Prosecutions. They went on however increasing; insomuch that *Knyghton* tells us *, the Kingdom was every where fill'd with them, and that you could not meet two Persons on the Road without one of them a Follower of *Wickliffe*. But it was not long before the King perceiv'd that he had been imposed on, and that the *Lollards* were not, as they had been repre-

* De Eventibus Angl. l. 5.

sented,

sented, disaffected to the State ; and from that Time, to the End of his Reign, he discountenanced the Persecution.

AND happy for the *Lollards*, during the Infancy of *Henry VI.* Princes of too great Abilitys to make Persecution the chief Subject of their Care, had the Administration of the Publick. And the latter Part of his Reign, as the Beginning of that of *Edward IV.* was too much disturbed by domestick Troubles to have the Affairs of Religion much regarded. And tho *Edward* by Charter * in 1462, ordered that no Royal Officer or Magistrate shoul concern himself with the Felonys and other Transgressions of the Clergy, a Privilege his Predecessors had constantly denied them, we do not find that he encourag'd Persecution. We may say likewise of the Reigns of *Edward V.* and *Richard III.* that they two were very unquiet ; and that the Storms which then rag'd in the State, were a Shelter to the *Lollards*, and skreened them from Barbarity and Destruction. One or other of them however was from Time to Time burnt ; persecuted they still were, sometimes more sometimes less, as the Tem-

* *Rymer's Fœdera*, Tom. xi. p. 493.

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per of their Enemys suited with the Circumstances of the Times. We have indeed been told, that "the Beginning of the 15th Century was much worse for them than the Middle, or the End. The Reason is evident. For as their Number continually increased, their Enemys found much less Countenance, and they themselves more Protection *." That their Numbers *continually increas'd*, is very certain; and the Inference drawn from it, seems natural enough. But we know the contrary to be true in Fact. For as the Light of the Gospel began more to appear, and the Number of its true Professors multiplied, the Violence of Persecution, and the Activity of the Enemys to Reformation, increas'd likewise. The Spirit of Popery was never yet so tame as to be daunted at Numbers. There were more burnt in the 24 Years of *Henry VIIIth's* Reign, which concluded the 15th and began the 16th Centurys, than from the Passing the Ordinance touching Heresys to his Time, which was almost a Century. The former part of his Reign was infamous for the Crueltys acted by *John Halse* Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*; and towards

* Mr. *Rapine's* State of the Church of the 15 Cent.

the End of it, the King gave orders, that an old Priest, he himself had converted at *Canterbury*, after the Clergy had endeavour'd it in vain, should be burnt as a Heretick *. Fires were almost continually lighted during his whole Reign, for such of the *Lollards* as refus'd to abjure; and those of them who did, were treated after a most barbarous Manner. Bearing of Faggots, Wearing reproachful Badges, confessing their pretended Crimes at Churches and Markets, was the softest Treatment any of them met with; some were condemn'd to publick Disciplines, and Fustigations; others had their Cheeks branded with a red-hot Iron, or did perpetual Penance in Convents; to take no Notice of the unnatural forcing Children to light the Fire about their martyr'd Parents. And yet I am inclin'd to think that the like Barbaritys were more frequent in the Reign of his Son, *Henry VIII.* I mean in that Part of it before he had the Difference with the See of *Rome*. There were no less than seven burnt at *Coventry* in 1519; and *John Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln* caus'd six Persons to be burnt in 1521. forty eight

* *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, p. 671. and *Mr. Fuller's Church Hist.* l. iv. p. 155.

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at the same Time abjuring, were condemn'd to Variety of Punishments. This *Bishop* was a great Persecutor, and there were so many suffer'd in his Time in *Buckinghamshire*, that 'tis said of that County, that it produc'd more *Martyrs* and *Confessors*, before the Time of *Luther*, than all the Kingdom besides *. The chief Rendezvous of the *Lollards* seems to have been at *Agmondesham*, which was famous in those Times for their *Conventicles*, as their Assemblies were reproachfully call'd by their Enemys, but they themselves call'd *Schools*, either from the *School* of *Tyrannus*, in which *St. Paul* disputed †, which was conceiv'd by them to be *prior* to any material Church; or else because their Manner of Teaching was not in entire Discourses, but admitted, upon Occasion, as in the Schools, of interlocutory Opposition ‡.

AND let it be here remember'd to the Honour of these suffering *Lollards*, that they bore patiently the Distresses to which they were expos'd by the Severity of the State in passing such Acts, and by the

* Mr. *Fuller's* Church Hist. l. v. p. 163.

† Acts xix. 9.

‡ Mr. *Fuller*, *ibid.*

Zeal of their Enemys in executing, and often exceeding the Letter of the Law; I say that they suffered such Barbaritys, without casting any black or odious Colours upon the Government, without any Moving of Sedition, or Exciting their Fellow Subjects to Arms and Violence. How much to be wish'd is it, that the same Character could be given of those who have since profess'd the contrary Opinions. I need not say what they have done to disturb the Government, even where they have not been the Hundredth part of the People; which was far from being the Case of the poor *Lollards*, if we may judge of their Numbers from *Knyghton* *, or a Letter which *Richard Fitz-James* Bishop of *London* wrote, in 1515, to Cardinal *Wolsey*, to beg a *nolle prosequi* for his Chancellor *William Horsey*, who was found guilty by the Coroner's Inquest of the Murder of *Richard Hunne* in the *Lollards Tower* at *St. Pauls*, "Assur'd, I am, says he, if my Chancellor be tried by any twelve Men in *London*, they be so maliciously set in *Favorem hæreticæ Pravitatis*, that they will cast and condemn any *Clarke*, tho he were as innocent as *Abel* †."

* De Eventibus Angliæ, l. 5.

† Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 741.

THE Differences *Henry VIII.* afterwards had with the Pope, made the Court at last fall in with the general Bent of the Nation, by which Idolatry and Superstition were finally abolish'd in these Realms; a blessed Reformation from Popery being brought about, thro' the good Providence of God in the 16th Century, the History of which has been wrote with great Accuracy and Faithfulness, by Dr. *Gilbert Burnet* Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*, now with God.

I SHALL farther observe, that this Reformation not only freed the Religion of our Country from Superstition and Idolatry, but from those Evils likewise against which the Enemy's of our Establishment are continually clamouring. The *Power* and *Wealth* of the Clergy, at which they are so very angry, were then reduced to a very moderate Degree. As to the *Power*, the Immunity of ecclesiastical Persons was abolish'd: The Laity were deliver'd from Impositions, and from that Slavery and Subjection into which they had been brought, by having such Doctrines obtruded upon them, as tended only to promote the Temporal Greatness and Dominion of the Papal See. The Power of freeing Souls from Purgatory
and

and admitting them into Heaven, is banish'd the Protestant Church, and neither taught nor aim'd at by her Clergy. Auricular Confession, which was calculated to keep the People in Awe by letting the Priests into the Knowledge of their Secrets, is no longer practis'd; nor has the Clergy the Impiety to aim at an undue Reverence and Respect by pretending to create their own God. These Things, with many others, contriv'd to advance the secular Greatness of the Priesthood, were all of them happily abolish'd; and the Use of the Scriptures in the vulgar Tongue restored to the People. In short, Religion was then left free from Absurdity, and Faith was no longer overstrain'd, or requir'd to be implicit. The Reformation has reduc'd Things to so just a Medium, that if there be any Offence to be taken at the Clergy, it proceeds more from the Conduct of some particular Men, who would have given at least equal Offence in any Light or Situation, than from the Body. Had Popery still continued, there would have been a fair Field for the Enemy's of Religion to let loose their Wit and Satire; they might then with Justice have clamour'd against the gross Errors and Corruptions of a Faith so enormous. But since we *have not so learnt Christ*; since

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neither these, nor any Things of the like Nature, are left subsisting in our Establishment, they ought to lay aside their Clamour and Obloquy, and treat the Religion of their Country at least with common Decency.

BUT there may be some, perhaps, who think the *Wealth* of the Clergy a greater Grievance than their *Power*. Let us therefore see if our Reformers have left the Laity any Reason to malign or envy them upon that Account. They have taken proper Care that Churchmen should not make a Market or Advantage of the Sins and Souls of the People; and to banish all the pious Frauds which produce so great Gain and Profit to the Clergy of the other Communion. The Estimate of their Possessions before the Reformation has been carried to an extravagant Height, but as the Church was then depriv'd of what was thought exorbitant, we shall only enquire whether their present Revenue be any thing more than a proper and competent Support, for those who have no other Maintenance than officiating at the Holy Altar.

BUT first give me leave to observe, that our Rulers must (and let us with Joy

Joy and Thankfulness acknowledge that they do) know, that the best Foundation of Government, and the strongest Tye of human Society, is Religion. That 'tis Conscience, not Policy, which is the neverfailing Support both of King and Kingdom; which must make the Prince virtuous and good, and keep Subjects in Obedience to him. This is the great Prop which upholds the Safety, Peace and Welfare of the Publick. And of this human Laws can take no Cognizance; Conscience can receive no Tye but from Religion. 'Tis the Fear of God, not any worldly Consideration, which is sufficient to produce in us, at all Times, that Honour and Obedience to our Governours which is due to them; and which binds us to their Interests with the strictest Bands of Allegiance. Religion then is equally advantageous both to Prince and People. Where she presides, the just Prerogative of the Prince on one hand and the due Obedience of the People on the other, and of consequence the Laws and Libertys of the Nation, are equally secur'd. The Interests therefore of Religion are the same with those of the Civil Rights of Mankind. And agreeably to this we find Anarchy and Deism generally go Hand in Hand together; and such Persons as fit loose to the Ties of Religion,

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gion, appear as boldly against the *Civil Constitution*, as against the *Religion* of their Country. And we shall generally find, that he who is devoid of a Sense of Piety towards Heaven, will be as free from a Sense of Duty to his Prince, or at least be held in by no other Restraints than those of Self-Interest. Hence it is, that the planting Religion as deep as possible in the Minds of the People, has been recommended by the most eminent Politicians, even such as have themselves, for its own Sake, shewn in their Actions very little Regard to its amiable Precepts. They knew it to be for the Benefit of human Society, that the highest Obligations should be laid on the Consciences of Men: And as these could be had only from Religion, they have made it their Business to maintain and defend it, and to oppose and discountenance all Atheism and Infidelity, and have animated and encourag'd the Teachers and Professors of Religion to the Performance of their Duty; not only by their open Countenance and Protection, but by making ample Provision for their Maintenance and Support. And if this has been thought Wisdom in the most atheistical Statesmen, surely such as are sensible of God's Providence, who know that the Events of all their Enterprises depend upon him alone;

alone; such, I say, must make Religion their first and principal Care. They neither can, nor will, refuse proper Encouragement, or a competent Maintenance, to those, whose sole Business and Employment it is to induce their Subjects to be good Men and good Christians, and to submit to rightful Authority, as well for *Wrath as for Conscience sake*. Let us then see, whether the Provision the Publick has made for our Clergy, exceeds what is reasonable for so useful a Body of Men, whose Labours are so necessary to prevent Superstition and Idolatry from regaining the Footing which they have lost; and who, without Presumption, may be said reciprocally to return to the Publick no inconsiderable Support for that which they themselves first receive from it.

THERE are, 'tis true, some few shining Dignitys remaining in the Church, whose Number and Revenue, together with the Honours attending the Prelacy, are the only Rewards the State has assign'd for Learning, and may be said to be just sufficient to invite Parents to dedicate their Children to the Service of God and Religion, and to excite in them an Emulation to excel in the Performance of their Duty. Experience shews

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us, what Influence Honour and Profit have on Mankind; and God Almighty himself is pleas'd by Rewards to encourage us to the Performance of our Duty, and Perseverance in it: It is therefore requisite that the Publick should take the same Method to encourage Men to undergo the Fatigue of so tedious and chargeable a Course of Study, as is necessary to qualify them for holy Orders. And God be prais'd, the Effect of the Recompence has been always seen in the Advancement of sound Literature, (a Benefit of great Consideration) and in the Probity, Learning, and great Abilities of the Clergy of the Church of *England*; which have been so apparent, that Foreigners acknowledge them to excel those of other Protestant Countrys, where Avarice and Rapine have shorn the Fleece too closely, and have not left the like Inducements and Rewards for Learning.

BUT excepting these few Dignitys, what adequate Reward is there for so laborious and expensive an Education? 'Tis but a few of our Parishes which afford even a bare Subsistence for their Minister. It appears from the Return made to discharge small Benefices from first Fruits and Tenths, that of 9000 Livings
which

which there are in *England* and *Wales*, there are upwards of 5000 which are under 80*l.* *per an.* upwards of 3000 under 40*l.* and above 1200, which are not 20*l.**. so mean is the Provision made for above one half of our parochial Clergy; many of whom are forc'd to take up with the smallest of these Stipends, who might have rais'd to themselves great Riches, if half the Expence of their Education had been laid out in a different way. But can the largest of these Sums be esteemed a competent Maintenance for the Family of a Man, who is excluded by the Laws of the Land from falling into any other Method for Subsistence than attending upon the Altar? It may indeed be a Triumph to Infidels, but it must be an Affliction and Offence to all sober and considerate Minds, to think of the Penury and Contempt, and those Pressures of adverse Fortune, (to take no Notice of the Want of the many Assistances necessary to a studious Life,) which must be the Consequence of such strait Circumstances. There is no Reason sure, that the Clergy should †

* See Mr. *Eaton's* State of the Bounty of *Q. Anne*, p. 249.

† 1 Cor. iv. 11.

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even unto this present Hour participate of the Apostle's hard Fate, both hunger and thirst, and be naked and buffeted, and have no certain Dwelling-place. And surely the Labourer is worthy of his Hire.

IT must be farther consider'd, that the small Value of such a Number of Benefices, was much more tolerable under a Popish than it can be under a Protestant Establishment. Their Chantries, Obits, Masses, and the like, were a large and frequent Addition to a small Income; and being prescribed Celibacy, (the Freedom from which is the only Thing the Clergy has gain'd for assisting to bring about the Reformation) Penury and Want were not so frequent, nor, when it happen'd, so grievous to them as if they had Families to subsist from the same parsimonious Income, that would half starve a single Man. But now, even the Offerings and customary Dues for those Offices of the Church, which Religion justly requir'd should be kept up, are not only lessen'd, but in most Places with great Difficulty pay'd, and in some entirely abolish'd, which is a great Deduction from the Relief formerly receiv'd. And we have now liv'd to see, thro' the Coldness of People to be put in Mind of their Duty,

Duty, at a Time when Reproof was most likely to be prevalent, that which was the greatest Perquisite of their Office entirely gone out of Fashion. I mean Funeral Sermons, which is a Loss that would have been very grievous to great Numbers, had not Providence, to relieve their Pressures, put it into the Heart of her late Majesty (and it ought with Joy and Gratitude to be remember'd) to settle that part of her Revenue which the Clergy only were burden'd with, to aid their Wants. This royal Bounty, as it has been improv'd by the exemplary Generosity of several other pious Persons, has been already of great Advantage, where the Maintenance was the most insufficient. But what Malice do the Enemy's of Religion shew to the Clergy for being the Objects of her Majesty's Liberality, tho it be not suppos'd to have amounted to a third * Part of the Loss they began then to be sensible of? While a large Number of Parishes, whose Revenue are under 10*l. per an.* remain unaugmented, they harangue against the Queen's most

* Funeral Sermons are supposed, in some Years, to have brought the Clergy in 40000*l.* Mr. *Eaton* tells us (*Ibid.* p. 5.) that the Queen's Bounty at a Medium of 20 Years amounts to 10000*l. per an.*

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gracious Intentions; and desire that the mischievous Consequences of a perpetual Fund may be immediately provided against, and the Statute of Mortmain be reinforc'd. But the present Hardships of the inferior Clergy shew these Complaints to proceed not from Justice, but, as one would be tempted to think, from the Enmity they bear to the Religion they teach. Let them be therefore more kind and just, or speak out and say plainly that their Design is to dispirit them by Penury and extreme Want, and to render them despicable, and make them unable to stand in the Breach, to maintain the Cause of Religion, confute Errors, or convince Gainsayers,

BUT let us see what must be the necessary Consequence of these Gentlemens Labours, should they meet with Success suitable to the Pains they take. It can't well be suppos'd that Mankind should live without any Religion at all. The most then that the Enemys can flatter themselves with effecting, must be, either to change one Religion for another, which can never gratify their Designs against a Clergy; for so long as there is a Religion of any Kind subsisting, there must be an Order of Men appropriated to its Service;

or

or else to make Men generally cold and unconcern'd as to the Interest of any. And on this last Account it is, that the Deists have been always assisted by the Forces of the Church of *Rome*; which, next to the establishing of Popery, has ever been most sollicitous to introduce and propagate Infidelity. If her Advocates could make this Coldness general, they very well know, their Business is half done; for they will be sure to attack with Vigour, what then will be defended with Indifference; and what must be the Consequence? Why, these Gentlemen who are continually inveighing against *Superstition* and *Priestcraft*, would find what they clamour against, break in upon them like a Torrent, attended with a Train of abrogated Superstitions, and such a real Priestly Yoke, as would be as unsupportable to us, as it was to our Forefathers. And thus, as one Extreme naturally produces another, out of the Dregs of Infidelity, the most enormous Faith would probably arise, and all that these People pretend to fear, and even much worse, would come upon us. Nor is this so unlikely a Consequence, as some may apprehend, if we reflect on the present notorious Affiduity of the *Papists*, and how particularly they agree with our *Deists*, in their darling

A a 4

Point,

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Point, that of decrying the holy Scriptures. As these reject them under pretence of human Impositions, those depreciate and run them down to the utmost of their Power, lest they should be receiv'd as a complete Rule of Faith. Father *Simon* is not their only Writer, who has endeavour'd to prove the sacred Text uncertain. Their Council of *Trent* decreed * that no greater Deference should be pay'd to the holy Scriptures, than to the absurdest Part of the *Apochryphal* Writings, or unwritten Tradition, of which even the catholick Church, much less that of *Rome*, is not a sure Preserver; and has still farther depreciated their Authority, by substituting a humane † Translation into the Place of the divine Original, and by commanding their own Interpretation to be receiv'd with the same Respect as either. And, it may be, at last of all, considering, as we hinted, the present notorious Activity of the professed Roman Catholicks among us, that many *Popish* Missionarys are mingled, as heretofore, in Masquerade with the Infidel Croud, and assault, in Conjun-

* Primum Decretum 4^{te} Sessionis. See Father *Paul*, l. 2.

† Secundum Decretum 4^{te} Sessionis.

tion with them, the Fundamentals of Christianity, that while the Governors of our Church are busied in maintaining them, they may reap the more plentiful Harvest. A Gentleman now lately dead, who was professedly at the Head of these Enemys of Revelation, and who was the reputed Author of the * Treatise I have so often refer'd to, did actually in the Reign of King *James II* †. profess the Religion of the Church of *Rome*; and should therefore have given us some better Reason than he has done, to think that 'tis really the Interest of *Infidelity*, and not of *Popery*, which was his ultimate View. 'Tis certain, that the Increase of both of them is very justly complain'd of; and I shall conclude with affirming, that there cannot be a more likely Method to hinder the Growth of either, than to place an able Clergy amongst the People; and an able Clergy can never be expected without a proper Maintenance and Support for them. And such as shall insinuate it to be any Reflection upon the Preachers and Maintainers of Christianity,

* Christianity as old, &c.

† Second Defense of the Rights of the Christian Church, p. 172.

that

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that they are paid for doing it, I shall answer in the Words of an Author, who is an Ornament to his Profession, and to the Cause of the Christian Religion, which he has so strenuously defended. “ The * Fact is true, and it is an Honour to the Clergy, that they are paid by the *Publick*. It is an Argument that what they teach, is conformable, in the main, to the general Sentiments of the *wisest* and *best* Men amongst us, is the Sense of the *Legislature*, and Voice of the *whole Nation*; not *private Perswasions*: A Circumstance, as I conceive, very much in their Favour, and, other Things supposed equal, a Presumption that *Truth* is with them, rather than the contrary. Besides, such publick Allotments are so many Testimonys given to the Dignity and Usefulness of their Ministry, like as in other useful and honourable Employments, *Civil* and *Military*. And what can be the Reason that *Deism*, which has subsisted now for 2000 Years, or more (reckoning from the Days of *Epicurus*) should never yet meet with any Kingdom or

* Dr. Waterland's 2d Charge, p. 66.

“ State,

prevent Superstition. 363

“ State, among *Pagans*, *Jews*, *Mahome-*
“ *tans*, or *Christians*, that should judge it
“ a Thing proper to be supported at the
“ publick Charge, or *worth* the *reward-*
“ *ing*? I forbear to say more. Let those
“ Gentlemen then go and tell it abroad
“ as much or as often as they please,
“ that the Ministers of Christ are paid
“ for defending Christianity, or *hired* to
“ do it (for so they love to express it *;)
“ it is all very well, so long as the *La-*
“ *bourers* are *worthy* of their *Hire* †.
“ And when those other Gentlemen shall
“ please to produce any Thing as useful
“ to Society as *Christianity* is, and as
“ beneficial to Mankind, here and here-
“ after, then may They also reasonably
“ hope for the like *Honour* of be-
“ ing paid by the Publick for it. It
“ is neither mean, nor blame-worthy,
“ in the general, to take Rewards for
“ good Services; but it is always a Fault
“ to serve as Volunteers in *bad* ones.
“ Those that defend Christianity, do the
“ Thing that is *right* (whatever their
“ Motives be) while those that either
“ corrupt it, mutilate it, or discard it,

* Christianity as Old, &c. p. 165, 233, 234, 305.

† Luke x. 7.

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“ do *wrong*, which makes a sensible Dif-
“ ference. As to *Motives*, here or there,
“ the favourable Presumption will al-
“ ways lie on the Side of the *Religi-*
“ *ous*, that their Motives are not meer-
“ ly *secular*, because they believe in a
“ Judgment to come, which their Ac-
“ cusers despise. Christians *may* act pure-
“ ly upon secular Motives, but Infidels
“ of course *will*: Therefore let them
“ not reproach us on this Head.”



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The Author being at too great a Distance to correct the Sheets, desires the Reader to excuse the Errors of the Press.

F I N I S.



